HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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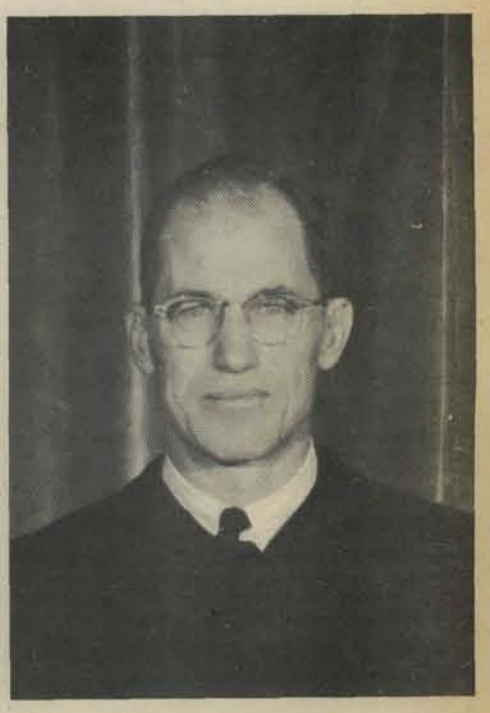
APR 23 1969

It's Time for States to Take On Supreme Court

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK



These three Supreme Court justices voted against the landmark decision on reapportionment: John Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron White. This latest distortion of the Constitution could well be the final straw that will bring the constitutional convention into being.

The states of this Union have the power, though it never has been exercised, to set in motion the machinery that can lead to amendment of the Constitution. It is time for them to punch that button now.

With the Supreme Court's opinions two weeks ago in the New York and Missouri redistricting cases, a new level was reached in judicial lunacy. Here the high court tossed comity, common sense, and the Constitution itself to the four winds. Five of the judges joined in the Ivory Tower improvisation, remote from the real world; Harlan, Stewart and White dissented; Justice Abe Fortas, lamely concurring, brought up the rear.

New York's legislature attempted in 1968 to meet the high court's requirement that congressional districts should be "as nearly as practicable" equal in population. A joint legislative commission came up with an ingenious plan. The state would first be divided into seven regions having generally compatible interests; 31 congressional districts would be created within these regions. The remaining 10 districts would be formed from county-clusters.

Now, there was a time when such a political experiment would have been lauded as an example of the very meaning of American federalism. Our states are supposed to be reasonably free to experiment with forms of government. And in this case, New York emerged with districts that in fact were substantially equal. The smallest of the 41 had an estimated population of 382,277, the largest of 435,880. Within the regions, variations among districts were infinitesimal.

Missouri's General Assembly undertook to apply the same principles of common sense and political compromise. Ten districts were proposed, ranging in size from 419,721 to 445,523.

In a pair of ruthless decisions, the Supreme Court ruled these efforts void. In fashioning congressional districts, geography cannot be considered; the integrity of county and city jurisdictions cannot be considered; traditions cannot be considered. Nothing is to count but mere numbers of faceless people. The goal is "precise mathematical equality."

This was the key sentence in the majority pronouncement: "The command"—note that astonishing noun—"The command of Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, that states create congressional districts which provide equal representation for equal numbers of people permits only the limited population variances which are unavoidable despite a good faith effort to achieve absolute equality, or for which justification is shown."

Command! What commandment is this? Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution says only this and nothing more: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states." That is all. The rest is pure fabrication. Presumably, though Justice Brennan did not say so, the majority also relies upon the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, which never on this earth was intended to mean what these judges declare that it means.

The three dissenters made the point that cannot be emphasized too strongly. Our constitutional system was meant to have some play in the joints. Not only the high court, but Congress and the states as well, must have some part in saying what the Constitution means. The principle of comity holds that a decent respect must be paid by one branch of government to another. The majority's pronouncement in these redistricting cases, said Harlan and Stewart, reflects "an all-pervasive distrust of the legislative process that is completely alien to established notions of judicial review."

The states do not have to swallow this act of usurpation. Under Article V, the Congress "on the applications of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments." Since 1963 some 32 states, alarmed at the court's redistricting pronouncements, have adopted such resolutions of application. The time clearly has come, in my own view, for the state legislatures to update their applications, and to get on with the job.

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Capital Briefs

● President Richard Nixon, it is reported on good authority, will definitely start thinning out the total number of **American GIs in South Viet Nam** by the end of the year. Insiders are saying, however, that the President has no intention of scuttling the South Vietnamese, as some reports are suggesting. One plan the White House is working on at the current time: replacing U.S. soldiers in South Viet Nam with South Korean troops while increasing the number of American troops in South Korea. While this would not weaken South Viet Nam, it would significantly reduce U.S. casualties and defuse the anti-war elements here at home.

● New York Times reporter **Neil Sheehan** recently wrote an article calculated to link Otto Otepka with right-wing extremists and bomb him out of his appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board (see page 6). The article proved nothing—save that some members of the non-subversive John Birch Society supported Otepka—but it did prompt some Capitol Hill reporters to suggest that the Times now do an article about Sheehan linking him to the radical left. Such an article might prove more fruitful, as Sheehan himself is already on record as stating: "We might abandon the idea that communism is our enemy in Asia. We must be willing to tolerate their enmity. I am suggesting that in some countries a Communist government may be the best government." Does that include the U.S., Neil?

● President Nixon is expected to name a successor to Chief Justice Earl Warren within a few weeks. Secretary of State **William P. Rogers**, tagged as the "front-runner" by several newspapers, has "no chance" for the appointment, according to one White House source.

● Officials of the Tennessee Valley Authority were shaken last week by a sharp attack from Supreme Court Justice **William O. Douglas**. Attacking a $54-million-dollar dam that TVA is building on the Little Tennessee River, Douglas said the agency is manned by "political hacks" with a "compulsion for make-work projects for the purpose of self-perpetuation. The TVA engineering staff apparently feels it must build dams whether they are needed or not."

● A top campaign strategist to New York Mayor **John Lindsay** admitted last week that Hizonor was basing his re-election hopes on the idea that conservative Vito Battista will draw away primary votes from fellow conservative State Sen. John Marchi. "If Battista stays in the race, we can win renomination with 40 per cent of the vote," predicted Lindsay's aide.

● The liberal **Washington Post** has for weeks been beating the Nixon Administration about the head for supposedly not doing enough in the way of Negro employment. But now Dr. Edward J. Trayes of Temple University's journalism school reveals that the Post itself has not exactly done an outstanding job in this field. Whereas the Nation's Capital is now 71 per cent Negro, only 16 of the 245 Post news staffers—barely 6.5 per cent—are black.

● The ultra-liberal **National Student Association**, which claims to speak for several million collegians, is at it again. NSA officials went into court last week to challenge the federal statute cutting off aid to student rioters. Such a law, said NSA, violates students' "freedom of speech."

● Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) will lead an investigation April 24-25 to find out if the government is using unwarranted governmental questionnaires in extracting information from citizens and federal employes. Among witnesses appearing before his Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee will be Rep. Jack Betts (R.-Ohio), who will testify on his legislation co-sponsored by more than 130 congressmen to curb the mandatory **questions on the 1970 census**. Considerable congressional pressure is mounting for the Betts measure even though the Nixon Administration opposes it, claiming the need to find out data for potential social programs. A House subcommittee is also scheduled to hear citizens on the census in Los Angeles May 16 and in San Francisco May 19. Panel Chairman Charles Wilson (D.-Calif.) told Human Events that out of some 1,500 letters he has received from citizens, almost all support a halt to mandatory questions.

● Richard Nixon is reported to still have plans to **clean up the State Department** as he promised during the campaign. The first person he should let go, say diplomatic observers, is his own secretary of state, William P. Rogers. Rogers, according to one high State Department source, is constantly thinking up ways in which the United States can make concessions to the Soviets.

● Georgia Gov. **Lester Maddox** may emulate George Wallace and run his wife for governor. Constitutionally ineligible to succeed himself, Maddox says he may evade the one-term limit by putting up his wife instead.

● The FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list now includes a bearded New Leftist wanted for sabotage. **Cameron David Bishop**, a wheelhorse in the Students for a Democratic Society, is sought for the dynamiting of transmission lines supplying power to defense plants. The bombings occurred in late January near Golden, Colo., blacking out the area and causing heavy property damage.

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Nixon Stresses Need for ABM...

In his press conference last week, President Nixon vigorously pushed his campaign to get the Senate to deploy the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. Unless this were done, he warned, American's nuclear deterrent—and therefore its diplomatic credibility—would be completely jeopardized. By the early 1970s, he suggested, the U.S., without the Safeguard, would be extremely vulnerable to both Soviet and Red Chinese diplomatic and military power.

Fresh intelligence reports, he also stressed, indicated the Soviets were striving for a first-strike capability, one that would enable them to render the United States harmless with a single, devastating blow.

The President's position, oddly enough, was supported by a report in the New York *Times*, which editorially has criticized the decision to deploy the ABM. Quoting authoritative sources, *Times* reporter William Beecher stated that new evidence gathered by high-flying satellites shows the following:

• The Soviet Union has a total of about 1,200 inercontinental ballistic missiles in place or rapidly going into place, roughly 150 more land-based ICBMs than in America's arsenal.

• After deploying about 225 giant SS-9 missiles—missiles which could take out our Minuteman bases—the Russians abruptly stopped the program early last year, but then, in December, suddenly started it up again.

• The Soviets are also testing multiple warheads for the SS-9, a fact which some defense experts feel is the most chilling news yet regarding Soviet intentions to achieve a first-strike capability.

• The Soviets are also believed to have deployed a fractional orbital bombardment system, a weapon that could be used most effectively in a first strike against "soft" targets such as bomber bases.

The U.S., as the President emphasized last week, obviously needs the Safeguard to protect its offensive capabilities.

Nevertheless, Senate doves, headed by Teddy Kennedy (D.-Mass.) and Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), are making a massive effort to defeat this system to defend our national security. Some conservative-minded senators—like John Williams (R.-Del.)—may also vote against deployment on the grounds that the U.S. must hold down spending. *Human Events*, however, feels the arguments in favor of deployment are so overwhelming that we are asking our readers to urge their senators to support President Nixon.

Listed below are the members of the Senate. Those with a mark by their names are senators who are considered committed against or leaning against ABM deployment. Because the vote on deployment is expected to come up shortly, the time to write your senator is *now*.

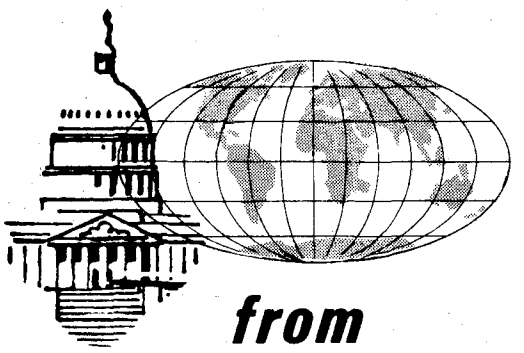
• Aiken (Vt.)
Allen (Ala.)
Allott (Colo.)
Anderson (N. M.)
Baker (Tenn.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Bellmon (Okla.)
Bennett (Utah)
Bible (Nev.)
Boggs (Del.)
• Brooke (Mass.)
• Burdick (N. D.)
Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
• Case (N. J.)
• Church (Idaho)
• Cook (Ky.)
• Cooper (Ky.)
Cotton (N. H.)
• Cranston (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Dole (Kan.)
Dominick (Colo.)
• Eagleton (Mo.)
Eastland (Miss.)
• Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N. C.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Fong (Hawaii)
• Fulbright (Ark.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)
• Goodell (N. Y.)
• Gore (Tenn.)
Gravel (Alaska)
Griffin (Mich.)
Gurney (Fla.)
Hansen (Wyo.)
Harris (Okla.)
• Hart (Mich.)
• Hartke (Ind.)
• Hatfield (Ore.)
Holland (Fla.)
Hollings (S. C.)
Hruska (Neb.)
• Hughes (Iowa)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
• Javits (N. Y.)
Jordan (N. C.)
Jordan (Idaho)
• Kennedy (Mass.)
Long (La.)
• McCarthy (Minn.)
McClellan (Ark.)
McGee (Wyo.)
• McGovern (S. D.)
McIntyre (N. H.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
• Mansfield (Mont.)
• Mathias (Md.)
• Metcalf (Mont.)
Miller (Iowa)
• Mondale (Minn.)
Montoya (N. M.)
• Moss (Utah)
Mundt (S. D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
• Muskie (Me.)
• Nelson (Wis.)
• Packwood (Ore.)
Pastore (R. I.)
• Pearson (Kan.)
• Pell (R. I.)
• Percy (Ill.)
• Prouty (Vt.)
• Proxmire (Wis.)
• Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Russell (Ga.)
• Saxbe (Ohio)
• Schweiker (Pa.)
Scott (Pa.)
• Smith (Me.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
• Spong (Va.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Stevens (Alaska)
• Symington (Mo.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Thurmond (S. C.)
Tower (Tex.)
• Tydings (Md.)
• Williams (N. J.)
• Williams (Del.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (N. D.)
• Young (Ohio)

...Teddy Boosters Oppose It

Loyal Kennedyite politicians, businessmen, educators and scientists launched a grass-roots effort last week to pressure the Senate into defeating the Administration's Safeguard program.

Called the National Citizens Committee Concerned About Deployment of the ABM, the group is the brainchild of Teddy promoter Richard Goodwin, a far-out New Left type. Directing the program's daily activities is Harold Ickes Jr., the son of FDR's interior secretary and one of the participants in the "dump Johnson" campaign in 1968.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

The group's co-leaders are two other Kennedyites: former Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg and former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric. They say the new committee will seek to "stimulate public education and initiative" against the ABM in states where one or more senators either support the ABM or are fence-straddling.

Besides Goldberg and Gilpatric, the sponsors of the anti-ABM committee include Urban League Director Whitney Young, Averell Harriman, Radcliffe College President Mary Bunting, Ford Motor executive Arjay Miller, former Pentagon defense research chief Dr. Herbert York, LBJ science adviser Dr. Donald Hornig, former Federal Reserve Board chairman Marriner Eccles, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and *Scientific American* publisher Gerald Piel.

While the group claims to be "non-partisan," it is so obviously a Kennedy committee that Republican senators opposing the ABM say they will steer clear of the group. A spokesman for Sen. Kennedy denied Teddy had any connection with the group, but provided information on how to reach the committee's headquarters in New York.

...While Percy Joins the Foes

Sen. Charles Percy claims to be a Republican, but the Illinois lawmaker has begun his anti-Safeguard campaign by calling up influential persons and claiming he is making the call on behalf of Teddy Kennedy.

PERCY

Andrew Glass, himself a Kennedy buff and now Percy's executive assistant, acknowledged that the Illinois Republican made at least five or six such calls several weeks ago.

Glass, who was formerly with the Washington *Post*, claimed the calls grew out of a recent talk Percy had with Kennedy on the Senate floor. Glass said Kennedy has a list of well-known persons, including Republicans, he wished to contact. Turning to Percy, Kennedy remarked that the Illinois senator knew Republicans on the list well and suggested that it might be appropriate if Percy called them. Glass said that in the conversations Percy used a phrase like, "Ted Kennedy suggested you would be a good person to call."

Percy has since denied that he's pushing Teddy for the presidency, but he hasn't let up on his decision to fight the ABM program all the way. Percy recently had the effrontery to warn Nixon not to press the ABM foes to switch their stands. He proudly claimed that the foes now have 50 votes and that at least 14 "sure" votes are Republicans.

Disappointing Budget Cuts

In unveiling alterations in the fiscal 1970 budget last week, President Nixon managed to slice some $4 billion from the original Johnson spending program uncorked in January, but there is growing sentiment by the conservative bloc in Congress that the President didn't trim nearly enough and must make even bigger slashes to keep inflation under control.

Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee proposed that Congress should cut another $5 billion. "I recognize," he stressed, "that I am prescribing very strong medicine, even distasteful medicine, and that careful attention must be given to how it shall be administered."

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), the ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, said he agreed with Mills. Williams said Congress may demand a spending ceiling that could be as low as $190 billion. "We'll put a ceiling on it," he said. "There's no doubt there will be a ceiling somewhere between $187 billion and $190 billion attached to the surtax." President Nixon's revised budget totals $192.9 billion.

While the papers and the Nixon Administration are actually projecting a "surplus," the proposed budget, according to the bookkeeping prior to January 1968, is in the red a whopping $5.9 billion. The federal government achieves this new "surplus" by feeling free to borrow from Social Security Trust Funds and the like.

Furthermore, Nixon will find it difficult to keep the budget at the projected level.

For one thing, much of the listed savings in defense come from lower estimates of ammunition to be expended in Viet Nam. Such savings have proved highly unreliable in the past. Even more disturbing is that Director of the Budget Robert P. Mayo told newsmen that the Nixon budget proposals for fiscal 1970 allow for *more* domestic needs than is being spent this year, even though not so much as former President Johnson's 1970 budget had proposed.

Indeed, the Nixon budget calls for a $307-million increase in aid for dependent children and $675 million for Model Cities, more than double the $312 million in grants for the current year. Other areas, it seems, could also be cut back. Thus, while economy-minded lawmakers feel that it is a big improvement over the Johnson budget, they still believe additional pruning is vital.

No Choice for Hobson

House lawmakers have demanded that Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch dismiss militant firebrand Julius Hobson, an employe of the Social Security Administration who also serves as a member of the Washington, D.C., school board.

HOBSON

The cries for Hobson's head followed a fiery speech he delivered April 15 during Black Awareness Week at Georgetown University. Stressing his self-admitted "Marxist-Socialist" philosophy, Hobson declared that the American free-enterprise system "must be overthrown by force and violence" before the gap can be bridged between the nation's haves and have-nots. The black community, Hobson bellowed, "is going to have to get angry and take over the schools, physically." They have "nothing to lose by raising hell . . . [even if] they take

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over, control, occupy the schools. . . ."

Hobson emphasized that he believes in "force and violence" because "it is not possible to solve the social problems under the present economic and social system."

"I'm personally a Socialist," Hobson asserted, and then he reiterated for disbelieving students that he felt the "struggle is international, worldwide and we should make use of resources outside the United States . . . including Cuba and China" in the fight against capitalism. "The destruction of capitalism is essential to ending poverty," he declared.

Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.), a member of the House District Committee, has requested vigorous action against Hobson. He has asked the attorney general to determine whether Hobson has violated any federal statutes and has requested the Civil Service Commission and HEW Secretary Robert Finch to rule on Hobson's eligibility for employment.

The previous Administration, Broyhill believes, could also have done something about Hobson, but refused to act. More than a year ago, when Hobson made a similar speech, Broyhill asked HEW, which pays Hobson's salary, to rule on whether Hobson violated regulations by counseling violence.

After two months of "consultation," former HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen advised Broyhill that statements attributed to Hobson were not in violation of Civil Service rules or regulations. Cohen, furthermore, made no effort to correct the situation.

Hobson has continually advocated violence. He has led marches on school grounds and police stations and has now called upon students to physically take over the schools. If no law is on the books to remove Hobson from the federal payroll, said Broyhill, this Administration had better come up with one or the people should "throw it [the Administration] out."

• There's an interesting sidelight to Black Awareness Week. The Rev. Channing Phillips told Georgetown students the night before Hobson spoke that violence from ghetto-based Negroes is inevitable in Washington, but that it can be constructive if directed to areas of the city such as Georgetown "where the decision-makers live." Phillips, the co-chairman of Humprey's campaign in the District and a Democratic national committeeman, claimed he does not condone violence but that when the anger of frustrated Negroes is touched off, "My question as a responsible citizen is how can I best channel that anger to make it effective."

Hayakawa on Harvard

San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa last week delivered himself of some opinions on the turmoil currently broiling at Harvard University, and in the process provided some insights into the motivations behind faculty members' encouragement of campus militants.

HAYAKAWA

At Harvard, Hayakawa said in an interview with the Washington *Post*'s David Broder, the faculty "double-crossed" university President Nathan Pusey by failing to support his efforts to end student disruption, instead using the student disruption to push for their own demands. "It's exactly the same thing" that happened at S. F. State, said the renowned semanticist. "First you have the uproar created by students. Then an element in the faculty has to defend the students. The more they have to show the students are justified, the more they have to find out reasons they have got problems and grievances, too."

In these situations, Hayakawa said, the faculty is left supporting the position of a minority group of students who—often through violence—disrupt normal campus life, yet these same professors will roundly condemn the use of administrative force—such as calling police—to end the disruption and stop the violence. This conflict of positions, which led the Harvard faculty to "double-cross" Pusey by condemning his use of police forces to clear an occupied campus building, Hayakawa describes as "one of the real psychological puzzles of our time."

As the "beginning of an answer" to the puzzle, Hayakawa offered this insight: "Professors, in a way, love their students, so they want earnestly to believe that whatever their students do is rationally motivated. . . . They're willing to condone anything, because, after all, they've been devoting their lives to teaching students rational behavior. So if the students violate the common courtesies and even resort to violence, they sit around agonizing and say there must be something terribly wrong with the world if the students feel that way."

At the same time, Hayakawa stated, the faculty members are inherently opposed to any affirmative police action against their student charges—their "loved ones"—because the intellectual-oriented professors are prejudiced against policemen as they represent, to them, a lower-educated class:

"There's an unconscious cultural snobbery on the part of the college-educated against those who are not college-educated, a deep-rooted prejudice among some intellectuals that they are a superior order of being because they are intellectuals. Some of them believe the world has no damn business being run by politicians, generals and businessmen. They think it should be run by literary critics and philosophers."

In closing his interview, Hayakawa offered some advice to his beleaguered East Coast counterpart, Pusey. One suggestion was to have all faculty decisions during a crisis decided by a secret ballot: "Don't let anything be decided in a [faculty] meeting. The radical faculty packs the meeting."

The other involved using police to maintain calm on campus. Outside police should be called, Hayakawa said, whenever there is the threat of disorder and they should be retained until the threat is past. This way, the California educator said, those who are on campus to teach and study will know their rights will be protected.

Korean Compromise

As expected, President Nixon adopted a middle course in dealing with the North Korean downing of an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane over international waters in the Sea of Japan. He rejected calls in Congress and by the military for retaliation, but he also disregarded the pleas of others like Sen. Fulbright, who indicated the flights should be discontinued altogether.

The "interim decision" the President announced—continuing the flights and giving them military protection—will still provide the U.S. with much-needed intelligence. If should also make the North Koreans think twice before pulling off another operation of this sort, because now there will be a considerable number of U.S. war planes patrolling just outside North Korea's boundaries.

Nevertheless, some military experts believe that a swift, retaliatory blow against a North Korean airfield or some other important installation would have been a better deterrent.

D.C. Crime Rate Declines

The Administration is making dramatic strides on at least one front: the war on crime in the Nation's Capital.

Figures released last week disclosed that the spiraling crime rate has been sharply curbed and that the number of offenses reported to police in February was the lowest at any time since the riots of last April.

Armed robberies are down sharply, police disclosed. From 22 a day in January, the armed stick-ups dropped to 20 a day in February and 15 a day in March. Equally dramatic has been the fall-off in the number of bank robberies. From 19 in January, the figure fell to two in February and none in March.

Police officials credit the fall-off in crime to a significant increase in the number of foot patrolmen, ordered by President Nixon. Nearly 200 additional men are patrolling the city's streets, up 14.6 per cent since the Johnson Administration.

Police add that the "word is out" that the Administration means business in the anti-crime crusade. "The punks hear about more cops and stiff sentences and they have second thoughts," said one high-ranking police official.

Gov't Blows Billions

A top official of the watchdog General Accounting Office estimated last week that the federal government is squandering $20 to $30 billion a year. In an interview with United Press International, the government expert declared:

"The horrible truth is that neither the President nor Congress nor anyone else really knows enough about what the government is doing, and what results its programs are achieving, to speak with certainty about how much waste there is in our $200-billion-a-year federal budget."

Pressed for an estimate, the GAO official said $20 to $30 billion would be a "realistic guess."

And Budget Bureau experts agreed that waste ran into the many billions of dollars. Deputy Director Phillip S. Hughes said it would be "extremely conservative" to estimate that 5 per cent of the government's expenditures are redundant or ineffective. He indicated that he would not boggle at an estimate of 10 to 15 per cent.

Five per cent of the budget for the coming fiscal year is nearly $10 billion; 15 per cent would be nearly $29 billion.

EEOC's Peppery Protagonist

Sen. Everett Dirksen's (R.-Ill.) charge that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been engaged in "harassment" of employers has been bolstered by an extraordinary account of an EEOC official in action. The still undenied episode was related in a letter to EEOC headquarters in Washington by Rufus Coulter, director of Human Relatons, Motorola, Inc., Scottsdale, Ariz. Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) recently inserted a copy of the letter into the *Congressional Record.*

It seems that John J. Sanchez, the EEOC official in question, met with Motorola attorney Robert Nystrom and Coulter on March 6 to investigage a complaint by a job applicant who claimed he had been discriminated against because he was Jewish. Although Motrola noted that Jews held high positions with the company, Sanchez became intrigued with the discovery that a Mr. Leroy Maready, a Mormon, had been one of the men who had interviewed the applicant.

Upon learning of Maready's religious faith, Sanchez, according to Coulter, began a spirited conversation. He charged that Mormons "were prejudiced against Negroes and that Mormons were also prejudiced against Jews."

The Mormons, he went on enthusiastically, interpreted their version of the Bible to mean that "Negroes are second-class citizens." He added that at the University of New Mexico one of the athletic teams had refused to play in a scheduled contest with a team from Brigham Young University because of the known attitude of the Mormons about Negroes.

Annoyed by the irrelevant outburst, Nystrom interrupted Sanchez to remind him that the complaining applicant was *not* Negro and, furthermore, Sanchez' remarks bore something of an anti-Mormon prejudice.

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Sanchez' tongue was not to be stilled, however. After lunch, he confronted Maready and asked him if he were prejudiced against Jews. Assuring Sanchez this was not the case, Maready also noted that he had only briefly interviewed the applicant by telephone and that it seemed obvious that the applicant was turned down because of a "spotty" employment record.

Sanchez then asked Maready what his religious views were in reference to Negroes. Nystrom interrupted Sanchez again to tell him: "I have told you we are not going into that matter because it is irrelevant to the Rubenstein case. You cannot come in here and ask questions which are not pertinent."

Apparently losing his composure, Sanchez stood up and, according to Coulter, waved his arms "in a provocative manner as if to challenge in physical combat." While pointing to Nystrom, Sanchez blurted out:

"You are a typical Minnesota Catholic bigot. You should see your priest because you are prejudiced against Mexicans. I have three college degrees and a better background than both of you. Neither of you have more than one degree. I know about you and Motorola."

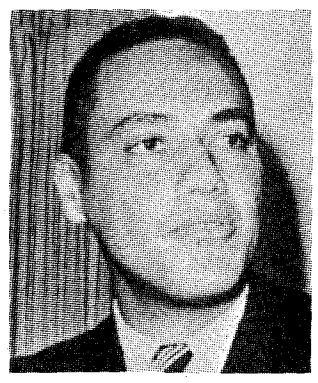
When Coulter jokingly "confessed" to Sanchez that he, Coulter, was not very smart, Sanchez replied: "I am, and I am a tough Mexican." Sanchez then struck a pose as if he wanted to do some sparring. "You are fat and soft," Sanchez complained. "You stalled me a month in getting together in this meeting."

Nystrom softly countered: "I am sorry, but I have been on a vacation for two weeks in Mexico." "Oh, seeing how the peons live, I suppose," Sanchez shot back.

Without any warning, stated Coulter, Sanchez then ordered Nystrom to leave the room (though Nystrom refused, since he had every right to be there). Before he finally left, Sanchez fired a parting shot at Coulter, claiming that Coulter was "prejudiced against Indians."

When *Human Events* contacted Sanchez, he claimed regulations did not permit him to comment on what happened. The EEOC, which now has Sanchez working on another case, says it is "looking into the matter."

• The controversial Clifford L. Alexander Jr., who resigned under fire as chairman of the EEOC but is



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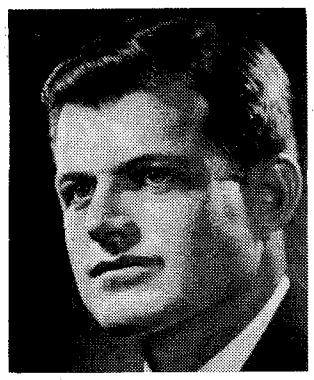

KENNEDY

still a member, is reported by authoritative commission sources to have been offered an important civil rights post by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) if Kennedy wins the presidential election in 1972. Meanwhile, Alexander's immediate task is to make things hot for the Nixon Administration.

Blount Orders Contractor Query

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount has ordered a "top to bottom" review of a $40-million postal complex, one of whose contractors is linked to the Mafia and others to a notorious political machine.

Contracts for the project, located in Hudson County, N.J., were let in the early days of the Kennedy Administration. There have been repeated delays, however, and construction is still in its early stages.

Investigation by an enterprising team of Associated Press reporters turned up these facts:

• The project is located in the congressional district of Democrat Dominick Daniels, a protege of Hudson County boss John V. Kenny, and an influential member of the House Subcommittee on Postal Facilities. The project's "design contract" was awarded to Comparetta and Kenny of Jersey City. Although the "Kenny" in the firm's title is no relation to Boss Kenny, the Democratic chieftain does have ties to the company. During the 1950s he was convicted and sent to prison for concealing his interest in the firm while collecting $8,925 as executive director of a federally financed urban renewal authority.

• The decision to give Comparetta and Kenny the design contract was made by Robert J. Burkhardt, the assistant postmaster general for postal facilities. Burkhardt, a professional politician, played a key role in the 1960 Kennedy campaign. An ally of Boss Kenny, he is now chairman of the New Jersey Democratic party.

• Comparetta and Kenny contributed $1,000 to the 1960 election campaign of Rep. Daniels, and $1,000 to Rep. Cornelius Gallagher, a Hudson County lawmaker whose ties to organized crime have been exposed by *Life* magazine.

• General building contractor on the postal project is A. J. Sarubbi, Democratic mayor of North Bergen, and a key member of the Kenny campaign. The electrical subcontract went to Valentine Electric Co., which has received lucrative public contracts since Anthony (Tony Boy) Boiardo went on its payroll in 1958.

David M. Satz Jr., U.S. attorney for New Jersey, noted that Joseph Valachi, the former Mafia leader, identified Boiardo "as a member of the Cosa Nostra underworld organization."

Castro Aids Black Panthers

While the tide of pro-Castro propaganda in the United States has been rising significantly (see Paul Bethel's article in *Human Events*, April 15), Castro agents in this country, it turns out, have been financially aiding the revolutionary Black Panther organization, 21 of whose members were recently indicted in New York on charges of plotting to kill policemen and dynamite city department stores.

Recently, in fact, the State Department acknowledged that two Cuban diplomats—Chafik Saker Zenni and Jesus Jimenez Escobar—had been denied re-entry visas to the United States because of evidence that they conducted intelligence activities and gave "financial and directional" aid to militant Negro groups, including the Panthers.

Five more Cuban diplomats, also attached to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, face possible action by the State Department on the same grounds.

A government source close to the investigation revealed that it is a matter of public record that the Cuban mission has tried to get black and white militants to visit Cuba, has encouraged them to write anti-American propaganda in Havana and elsewhere and has passed out Communist literature to those groups in the United States who ask for it.

Government sources also revealed that "at least 15 Black Panthers had been observed by investigators entering the Cuban Mission, which is open to anyone the Cubans will allow to enter, and 15 members of the nationwide Panther group have visited Cuba in the last year or so."

Ike on the Korean War

In reminiscing about Gen. Eisenhower, columnist Bob Considine records an intriguing conversation he had with Ike over the Korean War. Considine interviewed the general at SHAPE in 1951 not long after Gen. Douglas MacArthur had been fired by President Truman. According to Considine, Ike in effect remarked that civilian control of the military was, after all, in the best military tradition.

But how would he have reacted, Considine asked, if he had been in MacArthur's shoes when the Red Chinese came over the mountain? According to Considine, Gen. Eisenhower responded:

"I'll tell you what I would have done. I would have put every plane I had in the air and bombed the hell out of their supply depots in Manchuria. What's more, I would not have asked Washington's permission, nor the U.N.'s permission. And if either raised hell, I would have told them that I'd done what was necessary to save the lives of thousands of men from a dozen allied nations!"

Help F.A.K.E. Out Teddy Kennedy

Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy attracted widespread criticism last week for allegedly trying to turn an Alaskan anti-poverty tour into a "publicity stunt." Kennedy's aides took sharp issue with the attacks, however, and argued that the Democratic senator was deeply concerned with the problem of poverty and has been eagerly searching for ways to solve it.

Granting Sen. Kennedy the benefit of the doubt, **Human Events** wishes to offer its modest assistance in helping him with the serious task. In aiding the senator, we would like to invite our readers to submit their suggestions as to how he can do more to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. To start the ball rolling, we begin by offering a few suggestions of our own:

• Donate Joan's wardrobe to Goodwill Industries.

• Offer Joan's now-famous, silver-sequined mini-dress as first prize in a Bingo contest.

• Donate Joan's $1,000 hairpiece to the Job Corps' barbering program.

• Donate Steve Smith to the Job Corps' barbering program.

• Reassign Teddy's public relations staff to the Head Start program, Creative Writing Division.

• Plug tax loopholes, such as the tax-exempt status granted the Ford Foundation.

• Turn the Hyannis Port compound into a summer camp for disadvantaged children.

• Give the McLean estate, complete with salmon-pink living room, back to the Indians.

• Have Sargent Shriver invite the people of Tulusak, Alaska, to Paris for a weekend on the town.

• Turn over to a foundation—uncontrolled by the Kennedys—the $12,500 salary hike Teddy voted for himself in January.

• Have Aristotle Onassis hire 2,000 hard-core unemployed as deck hands.

Now, it's your turn. And we're sure you can do much better. The prize for the best suggestion will be one year's supply of OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) press releases. Second prize will be a two-years' supply of OEO press releases. Third prize will be OEO.

So, get started now. Send your suggestions to:

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Senate Confirmation Expected

Otto Otepka Nears End of Six-Year Ordeal

By CLARK MOLLENHOFF

(The following is the text of a speech delivered by Mr. Mollenhoff April 11 before a meeting sponsored by the bipartisan Council Against Communist Aggression. Mollenhoff, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the Cowles publications, has covered the Washington scene for many years. His remarks have particular relevance at this time because a number of liberals are expected to make a protest on the Senate floor against Otto Otepka's confirmation as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Hearings on Mr. Otepka's appointment began last week before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee.)

I am here tonight to pay tribute to Otto F. Otepka and the case for moderation, patience and conscientious hard work on the seemingly impossible problems that face our society. I hope the six-year ordeal of Otto Otepka is nearly over, and that within a few weeks he will be busy at the Subversive Activities Control Board. I hope his term on the SACB will be marked by the same thoughtful and balanced actions that have characterized his approach to his six years of trial.

I will not say that there were no moments of anger and bitterness for Otepka in the last six years, for I know there were many in his long and often frustrating battle with the big bureaucracy that is the State Department. But Otepka managed to keep the bitterness to himself through most of the time, and he avoided the temptation to engage in a public name-calling contest that could have seriously damaged his case.

For the most part, Otepka confined himself to the recitation of the written record of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and the papers filed by his attorney, Roger Robb, in connection with his personnel litigation. Because he confined himself to the written record he made it difficult for critics in the press or in the State Department to twist or distort his position by taking comments out of proper context. Because he kept meticulous records of his case and related maters, Otepka has been in a position to document the record of the activities of his tormentors.

Because of the care with which Otepka has proceeded, the issues in his case have remained essentially the same as they were when the case started six years ago.

The State Department press office and other critics have found it difficult to create new side issues to distract from the basic case. In its simplest form this is the case:

The State Department political arm was trying to fire or demote Otepka because he told the truth under oath and produced three documents to prove he was truthful.

Otepka testified on lax security practices at the State Department and his testimony was flatly contradicted by a superior, John F. Reilly. This created a serious problem, for someone had testified falsely under oath on a material matter dealing with State Department security.

Otepka was advised by the Senate subcommittee of the conflict in testimony indicating that either Otepka or Reilly had lied under oath.

Faced with that problem, Otepka said he could prove he was truthful and that his superior had told a false story. At the subcommittee's request, Otepka produced three documents:

1. A memorandum from Otepka to Reilly setting out the facts as Otepka had testified they were related to Reilly. It was initialed by Reilly.

2. A memorandum from Reilly to others setting out the information Otepka said he had conveyed to Reilly. This was signed by Reilly.

3. The personnel papers of a young woman. They contained no derogatory information. They were used to demonstrate how a case would be handled under normal circumstances.

Those documents were necessary to prove that Otepka was truthful. They dealt with a subject matter within the jurisdiction of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. None of those documents involved any national security secrets. Perhaps it would have been possible for Otepka to take those documents to his superior, Reilly, and obtain approval for delivering them to the Senate subcommittee for the purpose of proving that Reilly had given false testimony.

However, I do not believe it was unreasonable for Otepka to believe that he had a right to respond to the Senate subcommittee request without clearing with Reilly. The Senate subcommittee had the responsibility to find out who was telling the truth. Otepka had the information necessary to establish the truth and the right to prove his own veracity.

It was John F. Reilly who filed the charges of "insubordination" against Otepka for delivering the three documents to Congress. He also filed 10 other charges that had to be dropped by the State Department after Otepka and his lawyer said they had evidence to prove that those charges were based upon rigged evidence.

Reilly was in the group of officials who participated in the illegal and unauthorized wiretapping of Otepka's office telephone and the bugging of the State Department office. Reilly had a role in entering Otepka's office at night to ransack his desk and bore into the security safes to try to find grounds for firing Otepka.

This "get Otepka" drive failed to produce evidence, but the pattern of harassment was the worst in police state tactics.

Reilly and others on two occasions lied to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in denying a knowledge of the eavesdropping on Otepka before they finally admitted it.

It was Reilly who filed the "insubordination" charge against Otepka to try to fire him. To me it was incredible that former Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other officials would permit Reilly to file the charges in the light of his pattern of "get Otepka" activity.

I started work on the Otepka case in 1963 prior to the time Reilly filed the charges of "insubordination." I have followed it since then.

When I started work on the matter, I questioned Otepka extensively. I did not know him well then. I did not know if the facts he presented were right, nor did I know if there were other facts that might change the overall look of the case.

For weeks, and even for months, I was cautious about drawing any more than a few of the most limited conclusions on the Otepka case. Every investigation I made of Otepka's story demonstrated that he was accurate on the facts, and balanced in his perspective. In many respects he understated his case. Also, he was amazingly objective in viewing his own case, and in judgment about the men who were aligned against him. He had the restraint and judgment to draw lines between those who were actively engaged in illegal and improper efforts and those who seemed to be simply trapped into a position by carelessness or to present a united political front.

Despite the care with which Otepka related his case, I had difficulty in believing it was as one-sided as it appeared. I made every effort I could to determine if the facts were glossed over or omitted by Otepka or the Senate subcommittee. I questioned everyone I could at the State Depart-

Continued on page 14

Dialogue on a Legal Defense Fund

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

That was quite an editorial in the New York *Times*, April 8, titled "Otepka and the Birchites," and it deserves some dialogue.

New York *Times*: "The disclosure that Otto Otepka received $22,000 from a fund with extreme right-wing associations should be enough to kill his nomination to the Subversive Activities Control Board."

Answer: But Otepka tells me he received not a penny. Rather it was his attorney, Roger Robb, now a nominee for the U.S. Court of Appeals, who got the bundle. Even when he made personal appearances before libertarian groups (composed of both political conservatives and political liberals), Otepka refused all except his expenses.

New York *Times*: ". . . Senators of conscience cannot vote to confirm Mr. Otepka in a $36,000 job where his work, if any, will be to judge the loyalty of American citizens and organizations."

Answer: Oh, come on. Otepka will be one of a five-member board which examines only those cases sent by the attorney general of the United States. The "Birchites" aren't named in the editorial, but the head of the Defense Fund which paid Mr. Robb is James Stewart of Illinois. Otepka never asked Stewart about a possible membership to the John Birch Society, but in all the official lists of subversive organizations which Otepka has seen in his line of work, the JBS never appeared.

New York *Times*: ". . . Mr. Otepka's link to the Birchites is no youthful indiscretion."

Answer: That's right. Otepka tells me, "I don't belong to anything except the American Legion and the Catholic Church."

New York *Times*: ". . . Evidently he violated no law in accepting money from Birchite sources to meet the legal costs of his unsuccessful fight as the State Department's chief security evaluator."

Answer: What do you mean "evidently"? I say "evidently" the *Times* is not in the pay of a foreign government, and "evidently" some of its editors are not bigamists. It's public policy that poor people in the clutches of the law are supplied with legal counsel, and I don't suppose that the murderers of Martin Luther King and Bob Kennedy are paying legal fees from their own pockets.

If "Birchite sources" are tainted, then we ought to segregate Birchite blood-plasma to make sure it doesn't get into the Red Cross blood banks. If that sort of dollars is bad, that sort of corpuscles must be worse.

Not only the Birch Society, allegedly, came to Otepka's aid, but so did the American Civil Liberties Union, which spent its members' money investigating and deploring the wire-tap used by the State Department against Otepka. And a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate expended money and man-hours in exposing the violation of Otepka's civil rights. Are they all tainted?

New York *Times*: "But his warped concept of Americanism disqualifies Mr. Otepka from sitting in judgment on subversion."

Answer: Well, the "warped concept" isn't described, but there were two State Department officials caught in lies during the Internal Security subcommittee's investigation, and neither of them was named Otepka. He did not, as insinuated, "spy" on his colleagues, but they spied on him. In obedience to the Senate subcommittee's counsel's request, Otepka turned over objective documents which showed that some of his superiors were not complying with the laws.

If Otepka isn't qualified for "sitting in judgment on subversion," then he must have misspent two decades of work as a Civil Service investigator. He must have fooled those superiors who gave him citations for meritorious achievement. He must have fooled President Nixon, who nominated him for an important post.

New York *Times*: "The evidence is overwhelming that the Senate should reject this nomination."

Answer: This statement is the exact opposite of the truth, but let's defend with our lives the right to make it.

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Some Harvard students as well as Radcliffe girls filled part of the Harvard football stadium to discuss what action to take in the face of the police crackdown on SDSers who forcibly occupied an administration building.

SDS: Enemy of Bill of Rights

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The members of the Students for a Democratic Society ought to have their nose rubbed in the Bill of Rights, particularly the 1st Amendment that guarantees freedom of speech and assembly to everybody, anti-SDSers included.

At Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Pomona and Stanford, faculty groups have voted to end academic credit for ROTC or for any military training and education. The SDS considers this a victory, but even from its own standpoint it is not a good thing. For ROTC has, over the years, given us a military force that is predominantly civilian in its orientation. More than 60 per cent of the U.S. officer corps in peacetime consists of graduates of our civilian institutions, and even now, in the midst of the Vietnamese war, 40 per cent of our military leaders above the rank of sergeant are civilian-trained.

If the SDS succeeds in its anti-ROTC campaign, it will change the proportions, giving us a largely professionalized military leadership. Any such leadership would know what to do with the SDS: it would simply shoot the boys down. If the SDS wants to run the dangers of a military dictatorship, it is now taking all the preliminary steps.

The Harvard effrontery, demanding total banishment of the military from the campus, is the worst. For it followed after the Harvard authorities had given the SDS boys everything that they could reasonably expect short of depriving the far more numerous anti-SDS campus contingent of its own rights under the 1st Amendment. On the theory that a university should control its own subject matter, ROTC teachers were deprived of academic rank and their courses changed to voluntary student spare-time activity, with no credits toward graduation.

The excuses given for knuckling under to the radicals were not wholly consistent, for the Harvard faculty had quite definitely lost some of its control over the course known as Social Relations 148: Social Change in America, in which students are free to pick their own subject matter and teach it in their own way. Social Relations 148 gets full academic credit as ROTC does not.

What the SDS now presumes to do is to dictate the nature of spare-time activities to the campus majorities. Students who want to pursue ROTC studies even on a voluntary basis are to be denied their right. The U.S. must be deprived of the possibility of recruiting and training its officers from among civilians. In short, the SDS wants to deprive us of any Army that is representative of the people. Indeed, it doesn't want us to have any Army at all.

If they had their way, the SDS authoritarians would render a nation of 200 million prey to the blackmail of Soviet Russia on its eastern flanks, Maoist China in the Pacific, and Fidel Castro anywhere south of the Caribbean. But the SDS members aren't going to have their way. They may kill ROTC on some of our more pusillanimous campuses, but the military is going to get its officers from some source. We may, in the end, be faced with bigger appropriations for enlarged service academies.

It's time the trustees and the alumni started doing something about universities that continue to pamper the SDS when the boys act like Fascists. Many of our colleges aren't worth the money that goes to them these days, and a student who for financial reasons is deprived of what passes for education on some campuses is really being done a good turn. If our big corporations had any sense, they would do their recruiting in the high schools and undertake to provide higher education for their new payrollers at night.

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N.Y. Taxpayers' Revolt

By ALICE WIDENER

It took the New York State Legislature to put an end to the gouging of taxpayers by two Socialist Scholars, Dr. Richard A. Cloward and Dr. Frances Piven of Columbia University, who goaded welfare recipients into "overloading" the budget by demanding special payments and also the $100-per-person welfare bonus granted last year to appease militant activists in the Welfare Rights Organization.

In 1966 (see *Human Events*, Sept. 24, 1966, page 5), I reported on Prof. Cloward's and Dr. Piven's remarks at the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars in New York City where both Columbia Socialists called for a systematic strategy of "irregular and disruptive tactics" among the poor, urging them to overburden New York City and state with their demands.

Prof. Cloward told the Socialist Scholars that he and his associates had been conducting classes each Wednesday to train welfare recipients in putting forth excessive demands for special payments available under the letter of loosely drawn laws. He said that in 1965 these payments amounted to "about $40 per client," but he was educating recipients to demand "$100 to $1,000." Subsequently, the Cloward-Piven trainees raised such hell in illegal demonstrations at City Hall and various welfare centers that appeasing politicos upped the total budget for special payments by more than $28 million.

Mayor John Lindsay, Welfare Commissioner Jack Goldberg and Human Resources Administrator Mitchell Ginsberg cried crocodile tears about imminent bankruptcy of the city welfare system, but did nothing to put down the agitators putting forth outrageous demands devised by Socialist Scholars Cloward and Piven.

The mayor never went on TV and radio to denounce them and he never warned welfare recipients they were loading straws on a camel's swaying back. Nobody in the Liberal Establishment criticized Drs. Cloward and Piven and other rabble rousers. Nor did the New York *Times* wield its editorial power against the Cloward-Piven overload strategy.

Now that the New York State Legislature has at long last acted to protect taxpayers from deliberate exploitation, the New York *Times* cries out editorially against "Heartlessness at Albany"; Mitchell Ginsberg accuses the legislators of being "immoral"; and Jack Goldberg says they are "inhuman and insane."

Them's mighty harsh words! It's too bad Lindsay, Mitchell and Goldberg didn't utter even a faint "nay" to the Socialist Scholars responsible for the kind of welfare gouging that brought on the N.Y. legislators' drastic action.

Editorially, the New York *Daily News* made a big point when it said about the big state welfare cut, "the very men who waxed so eloquent about the plight of the disadvantaged bear a large measure of responsibility for bringing about the situation. For years they howled down every attempt at economy and every warning that open-handed funding of ever more expensive aid schemes was pushing New York to the wall financially."

Against the wall, New York state recently increased its sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. That means every New York City resident will have to pay six cents tax for each dollar of purchase. Add the bite of a 10 per cent federal income tax surcharge to a 6 per cent sales tax and you can see why the legislature made its welfare and Medicaid budget cuts. It is not a matter of heartlessness, it is one of obedience to a *force majeure*, the tax-rebellion of hard-working New Yorkers refusing to go on being clobbered by Columbia Prof. Cloward and his fellow Socialists on and off campus.

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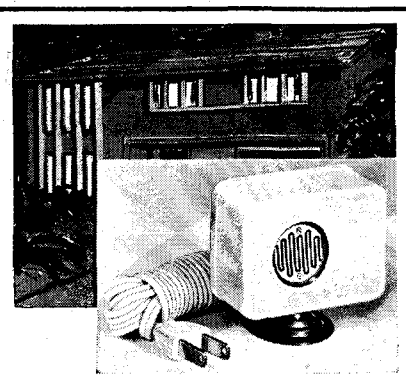

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OUR 67th YEAR

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Five Myths That Beset Us

By SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON (D.-Wash.)

The longer I work at the problems of national security, the more I come to share Josh Billings' view: "It isn't ignorance that causes so much trouble; it's what people know that isn't so."

For it is harder to deal with *error* than with *ignorance*. Error, after all, is a child of our own minds and we love it as our very own.

We live in a restless and risky world, where a fresh crisis arrives as regularly as the morning paper. Faced with complex issues and understandably hoping for simple answers, it is not surprising that convenient but false myths work their way into some people's thinking.

If the American people are to come to grips with the real dangers and the real problems, some prevalent myths need to be dispelled.

Myth No. 1 is that the Soviets are on a fixed course toward more peaceful and moderate policies, and are ready to leave their neighbors alone.

A Czech citizen might be permitted some doubts. Or a Yugoslav.

I believe that the truth is exactly contrary to this reassuring notion. I do not know how to assess the Soviet adversary except as a dangerous, opportunistic, unpredictable opponent—with a military capability whose reach is expanding.

In military terms, the Soviet thrust into Czechoslovakia proved what they can do. It was a vivid demonstration of Soviet capability for rapid, selective mobilization, for efficient movement of large combat and support forces over extensive distances, and for the establishment and testing of effective lines of communication in support of military operations far from the Russian homeland. The Soviet capability that was exercised so impressively in Czechoslovakia is available for employment on other tasks.

Moreover, the Soviets are moving fast toward parity with us in terms of nuclear missiles. By the end of this year Moscow will have deployed as many—or more—land-based ICBMs than we will have, and with a substantially greater megatonnage.

The Soviets are deploying the Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS)—which is a first-strike-oriented weapons system. The Soviets are producing Polaris-type nuclear submarines on a series, assembly-line basis, each with 16 ballistic missiles. Meanwhile, we are witnessing a far-ranging expansion of other Soviet naval activity, and the Soviet Navy is quite evidently in the Mediterranean to stay.

Even when it has been in a state of admitted strategic inferiority to U.S. power, the Soviet Union has periodically pressed forward policies designed to advance its political interests and to undermine the security of the West. This restless ambition has been illustrated in the recurrent campaigns of harassment and restrictions in Berlin and the Cuban missile adventure, and in the strong backing given to the militant Arab forces in the very serious Middle East crisis of June 1967.

In each of these probings the strategic inferiority of Soviet power has set definite limits to the extent of the risks that the Politburo was willing to run. But once the Kremlin is confident of possessing an equality or a preponderance of over-all nuclear capability, I believe it will be tempted to accept a far wider range of risks to pursue its purposes, especially in areas like central Europe, where it has a local superiority of conventional forces.

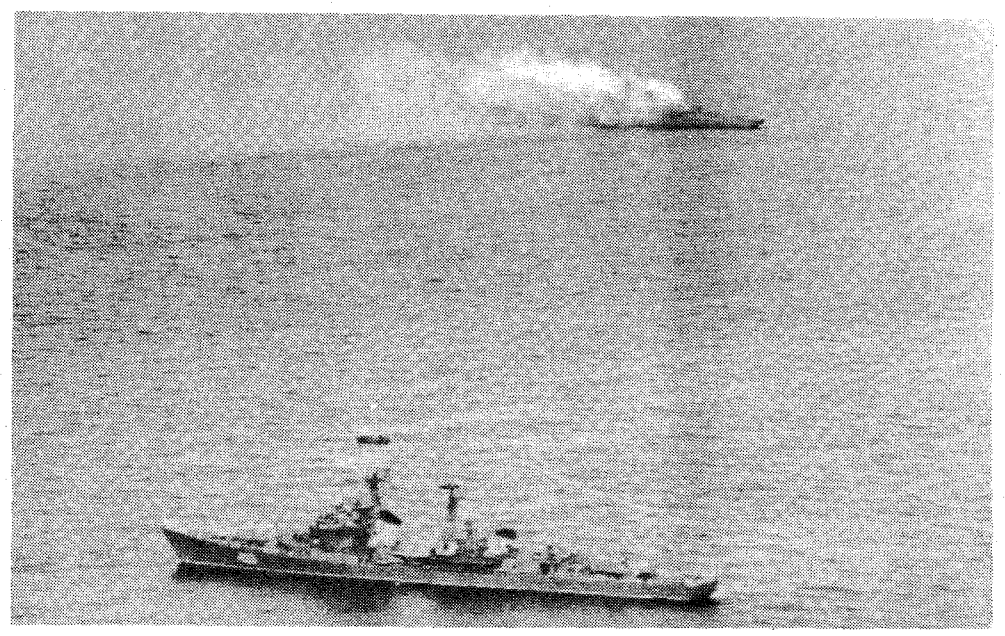
However sanguine anyone may have been about Soviet policy, the brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia should have been a sobering experience. In its aftermath, the Politburo invented the ominous "Brezhnev doctrine" of limited sovereignty for Communist-run countries.

Vintage Imperialism

The leopard does not change his spots. The occupation of Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev doctrine are vintage Russian imperialism.

Some people have seen the point. President Tito, who for 20 years has fought Soviet attempts to control his party and country, warned that if the Soviets invaded Yugoslavia they would be mired in a long and bitter guerrilla war. Tito denounced the Brezhnev doctrine as either a *Diktat* or an "unprincipled compromise" which attempts, he said, "to justify even the open violation of the sovereignty of a Socialist country and the adoption of military force as a means of preventing independent Socialist development."

The Italian Communists saw the point, too. They condemned the intervention in Czechoslovakia only hours after the Soviet troops had crossed the Czech frontier. Luigi Longo, leader of the Italian Communist party, forcefully condemned the doctrine of a "guide state" or "guide party," demanding instead full respect for the "autonomy and sovereignty of every Communist party and Socialist state."



Last week's plane incident in which an EC-121 was downed by North Korean MIGs points up the fallacy of dealing with Communists on an "equal" basis. Above, Red destroyers hunt for debris of the wrecked plane, probably for their own intelligence reasons rather than any humanitarian motives in locating the U.S. crew members.

Others have gotten the message, too. Communist leaders in Rumania, Austria, Spain, Japan and Great Britain have rejected the doctrine of limited sovereignty.

The significant point, I believe, is not so much that the Soviets have tried to invent a rationalization for what they did in Czechoslovakia, but that they have consciously and deliberately laid the basis for political pressures, blackmail and possible military adventures elsewhere.

We cannot be confident that a Soviet Union that invades Czechoslovakia will not use military force to achieve its purposes on other fronts, when it thinks this can be done without running unacceptable risks.

Myth No. 2 is that the Soviet rulers are becoming progressively more liberal and civil-rights conscious, and are about ready to rejoin Western society.

The plain fact is that in the past year or two there have been increasing signs in the Soviet Union of a move to the right—a move toward the hard-liners.

Obviously, the shaping forces of the modern world have not altogether bypassed the Soviet Union. Soviet leaders seem to have some understanding of the need to prevent nuclear accidents or failures of communication that could lead to catastrophe for Soviet society in a general nuclear war. The vigorous development and application of science and technology have not only multiplied the Soviet capacity to wage war, but also the capacity to produce consumer goods and services. The demands by Soviet citizens for improvements in living standards have thus been encouraged. These same advances in science and technology have brought about a somewhat wider diffusion of power internally.

But how are the Soviet rulers responding to the living economic and intellectual forces? The response of the present rulers is to strengthen the old political controls and to try to suppress the vital forces involved.

I find nothing "liberal" in Moscow's current war on the intellectuals, and the attacks on Jewish authors and poets. The present Politburo is more ugly toward intellectuals than Khrushchev ever was. Writers and scholars are now subjected to vicious and violent campaigns of denunciation. The fact is there are more intellectuals incarcerated in Soviet prisons today than at any time in the history of the Soviet Union.

Beyond this, Stalin's image is being refurbished as the great military leader of World War II. This not only has the effect of strengthening the Stalin-line among the Russian generals. At the same time, it encourages the neo-Stalinist intellectuals and it stimulates harsher attacks on the liberal students and writers.

As to the outlook in Moscow which prompted the invasion of Czechoslovakia, we need only say that such actions are not undertaken by rulers confident of the stability of their regime. The Politburo's sharp admonition to other Socialist parties and states to stay in line—or else—suggests a deep Soviet concern over the kind of urge toward freedom that appeared in Czechoslovakia and that could spread to the USSR itself. It suggests a concern in the Kremlin that the whole so-called "Socialist commonwealth"—as well as their own control over the Soviet Union—might come unglued.

Shift Toward Hard-Liners

Given this situation we cannot discount the likelihood of further shifts toward the hard-liners. Nor can we dismiss the danger that an harassed leadership, fearful of its hold on the reins of power, may take undue risks, and make gross errors of judgment, in its conduct of foreign affairs.

I might add that the uncertainties are further compounded by the difficulty, if not the impossibility, for anyone on the outside to know whether the Soviet leadership, at any given moment, is in a cautious or risk-taking mood. Nothing is more guarded than the discussions that take place within the Kremlin. In the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, until the moment of attack, the political signals of Soviet intentions were at best ambiguous. The lightning-like drive into Prague took

About the Author

Sen. Jackson served for six terms in the U.S. House prior to his election to the Senate in 1952. He is chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and serves on the Armed Services Committee, the Government Operations Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He is considered one of the Senate's leading experts on defense and national security policy. This article is the text of a speech Sen. Jackson delivered March 17 in Washington, D.C., to the 50th anniversary convention of the Associated General Contractors of America.

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almost everybody by surprise.

Myth No. 3 is the idea that it is the United States that is responsible for heating up the arms build-up.

The evidence decisively refutes this notion.

The Soviets acted first to develop long-range intercontinental surface-to-surface missiles;

The Soviets acted first to test-fire an ABM against an incoming nuclear-armed missile (in 1962) and they are the only nation to have done this.

The Soviets acted first to develop and test a 60-megaton bomb—and they are the only nation to possess anything like that size bomb;

The Soviets acted first to develop and deploy a fractional orbital bombardment system (FOBS), a first-strike-oriented weapon—and they are the only nation to have developed or deployed such a system;

The Soviets acted first to deploy an ABM set-up and they have been testing, improving and updating the system ever since. Today they have over 60 anti-ballistic missiles deployed on launch pads. We, on the other hand, have not yet deployed an ABM set-up of any shape or form.

The current campaigners against the ABM say that when the United States acts to deploy an ABM we are "escalating the arms race." I have never heard one of those people say that because the Soviets were first to deploy an ABM, they were the ones that escalated the arms race.

Fortunately, the American people, if they get the facts, are able to recognize this obvious double-standard—crudely biased against their own country.

ABM Not 'Destabilizing'

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Soviet Premier Kosygin has explicitly rejected that proposition that deployment of a defensive missile system heats up the arms race or is "destabilizing."

At a London press conference on Feb. 9, 1967, Premier Kosygin was asked:

"Do you not share the opinion that the development of the Soviet anti-missile system is a new step in the arms race?"

Premier Kosygin replied: "Which weapons should be regarded as a tension-factor—offensive or defensive weapons? I think that a defense system which prevents attack is not a cause of the arms race but represents a factor preventing the death of people."

No weapons system, of course, is or will be perfect. Our *offensive* weapons aren't perfect, and our *defensive* arrangements won't be either. But that doesn't mean we refuse to deploy them when we believe they can perform a useful and important task well enough to make a substantial contribution to the over-all deterrent.

I commend President Nixon for his determination to proceed with the phased deployment of a thin ABM system, and I believe all Americans should now support their President in his statesmanlike decision. It would make no sense to leave this country altogether "naked" to enemy missile attack. And it is important to steady and fortify our President's hand in this very unsteady world. I am a Democrat. But I am proud that over the years I have supported my President—whether he was a Democrat or a Republican—in the critical decisions to safeguard the national defense and to protect the future of individual liberty.

Myth No. 4 is the notion in some quarters that the only way to manage our problems with the Soviet Union is "instant negotiation." We are told by some well-known columnists, among others, that "there is no alternative to an immediate summit meeting with the Kremlin."

This is, of course, silly, and it shows an utter lack of sophistication about the negotiating process. A "summit meeting" is a highly mobile adversary operation conducted in the spotlight. Such a meeting needs to be approached with the most prudent exploratory preparations and skillfull groundwork.

To many Americans international negotiations are so completely means for *ending* conflict that they are blind to the fact that they may be and, in the hands of experts are, equally adapted to *continuing* conflict. In the present century Moscow has perfected the use of negotiation as a method of protracted conflict—as a means of buying time to build up its own military forces, or of bringing a sense of relaxation and good will before instigating some energetic offensive on a new front. This is straight from the gospel according to Lenin and Stalin.

I am personally convinced that there is only one safe way to negotiate with Moscow. That is, to have strong positions to bargain from.

As Sir William Hayter, former British ambassador to Moscow put it:

"The Russians are not to be persuaded by eloquence or convinced by reasoned arguments. They rely on what Stalin used to call the proper basis of international policy, the calculation of forces. So no case, however skillfully deployed, however clearly demonstrated as irrefutable, will move them from doing what they have previously decided to do; the only way of changing their purpose is to demonstrate that they have no advantageous alternative, that what they want to do is not possible."

As I see it, in relations with the Soviet Union the free world must pursue two consonant courses of action: on the one hand, we should try to work with them where interests converge, and, on the other hand, we should maintain the strength and the resolve to discourage adventurism by them and to encourage them to join us in serious negotiations of the explosive and difficult issues.

A favorite quotation of mine is one from Reinhold Niebuhr:

"If the democratic nations fall, their failure must be partly attributed to the faulty strategy of idealists who have too many illusions when they face realists who have too little conscience."

Myth No. 5 is the latest version of the devil theory of history—some people have conjured up what they call a "military-industrial complex."

All too often in history men have invented scapegoats. For Marx it was the capitalist. For Hitler it was the Jew. As the frustrations of our many problems pile up, some people are blaming their troubles on the so-called "military-industrial complex."

'Conspiracy' Theory

Who started the Cold War? Who compels us to spend so much of our income on national defense? Who blocks progress toward disarmament? To some Americans the answer is: a conspiracy of some sort between the military and industry.

And, I might note, this fiction is not just the property of a bunch of sensational alarmists. It has also crept into the thought of persons in responsible positions in our national life: TV commentators, journalists, political leaders, ministers, educators and others—there are some in each of these groups whose talk tends to parallel the fictions of the most sensational alarmists.

All this recalls Sen. Nye and his attacks on the "munitions makers." In the 1930s Americans so nearly persuaded themselves that a munitions lobby had caused the first World War that they almost ignored Hitler and the Nazi threat.

Today some people talk as though the reason for our big defense program is some treacherous plan by American generals and industrialists.

Patently, this view ignores the three great factors which have compelled the United States, for the first time in its history, to create and maintain a large permanent military establishment—the expansionist drives of Soviet and Red Chinese communism, the historic shift of world power westward to the United States and eastward to the Soviet Union; and the continuing scientific and technological revolution.

Obviously, the price of national security these days is high. Obviously, too, we rely mainly on private industry to do most of the research and build most of the new weapons systems needed for national defense. I don't think any of us would want it otherwise.

Suggestions for Cutbacks

I favor making some budget savings by cutbacks and deferrals in the less critical defense programs. Some weapons we might like to have are not essential and we can do without them. Some non-strategic projects can be left on the shelf for a while without hazarding our basic posture of deterrence. Certainly, money can be saved by reductions in the proliferating, Pentagon civilian staffs, and in some of the top-heavy staffs in the military departments or in some U.S. military headquarters abroad.

But are we going to make American foreign and defense policy by hysterical editorials, emotionally charged TV news comment, and by local protests and sign-carrying demonstrations? Not if I can help it!

Let us debate the real issues on the merits.

Americans have a right to speak their minds, but a President and a Congress are charged under the Constitution with the most solemn responsibilities as protectors of the Republic and as guardians of the peace. Public officials have an over-riding responsibility to the American people to make the most careful, balanced judgments on the critical issues of national safety and survival.

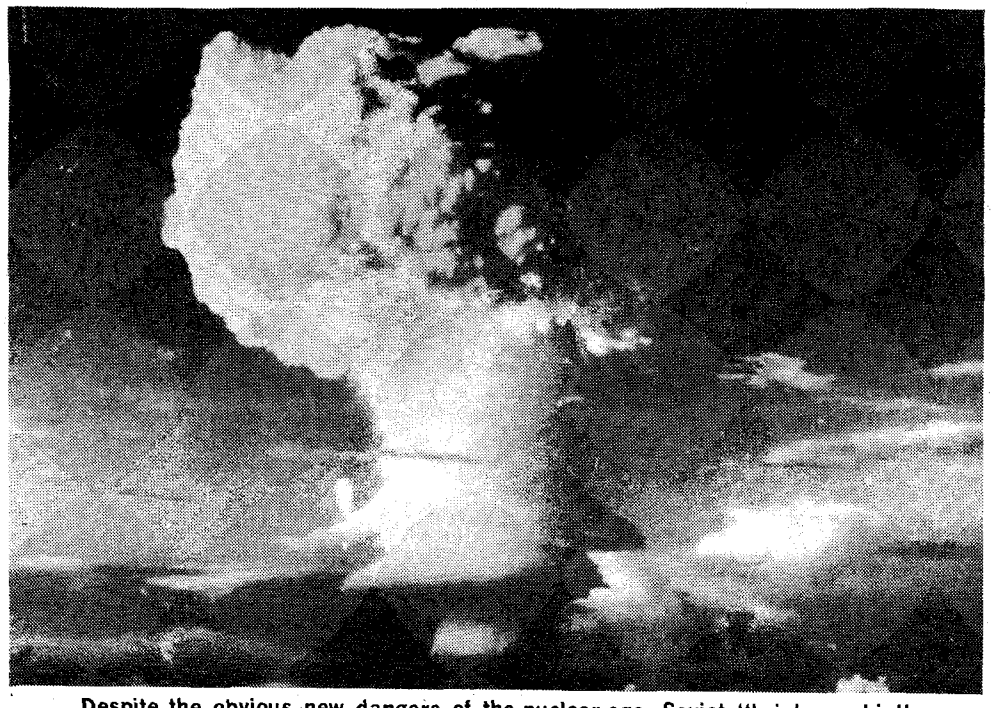
In conclusion, let me add just this:

Obviously, the nation's resources are limited. Our capabilities must be committed with discrimination and prudence. We have some very urgent, vital, costly tasks on the home front also.

But unless Americans are prepared to accept the responsibilities of a great nation in the fateful and difficult years ahead, the problems can become worse and worse and the international crises finally unmanageable.

Winston Churchill said the right words to us:

"The price of greatness is responsibility."



Despite the obvious new dangers of the nuclear age, Soviet "brinkmanship" in world affairs has been responsible for most of the Cold War tensions in the postwar era.

The Soviet Army has wanted to overrun Western Europe ever since World War II. Only the protectiveness of the NATO shield and the deterrent capabilities of the United States have prevented the Soviets from doing so.

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As Column Is Resumed

Fundamental Issues Remain the Same

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

(Editor's note: Sen. Barry Goldwater has resumed writing the newspaper column he suspended during his successful race for the Senate. These columns will once again be a frequent feature of Human Events.)

The important things in public life have not changed in the four years of my self-enforced sabbatical from the U.S. Senate.

When the 91st Congress opened in January, I found the Senate engrossed in an attempt to change the filibuster rule. The Senate had occupied itself with the same subject in the opening sessions which I attended in 1961 and 1963.

By "important things," I don't mean conditions as they exist in our government and throughout the country. There have been great circumstantial changes, but the fundamental issues remain the same—U.S. security and the defense of the free world, the Vietnamese war, unrest on the campus and in the ghetto, safety of our citizens, crime and inflation.

These issues remain, but the direction in which our government is moving to meet them is showing signs of improvement. I believe this was the meaning of the election which put Richard Nixon into the presidency. Our people were discouraged and unhappy with the way things were moving, and they voted a "mandate of change."

Hubert Humphrey represented the status quo and a continuation of the old policies affecting the great issues. The combined Nixon-George Wallace vote represented the desire for change in these policies. In this fashion, we encounter a true mandate for new attitudes, new approaches, new devices in all areas of public life.

Judging from what we have seen already, the new Administration is moving to bring about this change. The indications are many that the United States will not forever hold a useless marathon discussion in Paris while the Viet Cong continue to take advantage of our bombing halt to kill American men. The new Administration will likely move quickly to correct the mistakes of former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and upgrade this nation's defense posture.

It is apparent that the Nixon Administration not only realizes the gravity and the extent of the problem of crime, but intends to meet it with adequate measures.

Setting the nation's fiscal house in order is high on the agenda for serious action by this Administration. But groping with an inflation fueled by billions of dollars of new federal expenditures over the past eight years is a monumental task. It will take time and determined and possibly unpopular effort.

However, these efforts already are being recorded by congressional committees. The Administration has said it favors continuation of the 10 per cent surtax beyond its expiration date in June because of the need to slow down the overheated economy. This was one of the more unpopular moves announced since the new regime took office. But I believe it is an indication of a new determination to take whatever action is necessary to halt further shrinkage of the American dollar and thus ease the hardships of many Americans who are retired or work for wages.

At the same time, the new Administration is moving deliberately in the direction of eliminating unnecessary spending and wasteful government practices.

For the third time since entering public life I have embarked on writing a newspaper column. Each time the circumstances have been different, but this time I believe the difference is both fundamental and significant.

When I first began writing a syndicated column in 1959, the idea of a public official contributing regular commentary to newspapers was comparatively new. Therefore, I deliberately avoided references to topical material or news events. My efforts were devoted to enunciating a conservative philosophy adaptable to current events. This venture was terminated in 1964 when I announced my candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.

My second excursion into journalism was in 1965 following my defeat for the presidency. My columns then were comments by an outsider on affairs of state being handled by men of an opposite political party.

This time my column will offer more hard news, less philosophy and fewer criticisms. I will report from behind the scenes the conduct of public affairs and hopefully reveal some of the mechanics which develop public attitudes and government policy.

My objective now is to help Americans understand the "how" and "why" of some of the national-events news items in their daily papers.

For example, one news story during the early days of the 91st Congress had to do with the drive for replacement of the present military draft system with provisions for a professional volunteer army. It was reported that I had joined Sen. Mark Hatfield of Oregon in sponsoring legislation which would facilitate this change.

What wasn't explained was the process which brought Sen. Hatfield and me and other senators with widely divergent political philosophies together in support of one piece of legislation. There was no mention that this move was the most effective way to obtain speedy and favorable consideration of a question so important to the young men of this nation.

Those news accounts also gave no hint of the heavy pressure brought to bear upon me by some conservative individuals and groups to sponsor my own bill or co-sponsor a bill with some other member of Congress whose ideological views were more closely aligned to mine than were Sen. Hatfield's.

My point is that the subject in question is so important that it must necessarily cross the conservative-liberal line of demarcation. To the practical legislator, interested in achieving an end he believes is in the best interest of the American people, the important consideration was not the political philosophy of the other sponsor, but rather how effectively his bill was drafted, and what help he could bring to the attempt to win enactment of the legislation.

All issues do not lend themselves to the simple black-and-white operation of philosophical decisions. Some represent fundamental differences between the conservative and the liberal approach, as popularly used today. When these basic questions arise, I shall, of course, be counted with those who hold the conservative view for "quality change." By this I mean change which is based on the proved and time-tested principles of the past; change, in other words, which is based on experience.

With a close personal friend and political ally in the White House and with members of my own party operating the various departments of the government, many vital news sources will be available to me.

In addition, my membership on the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee will provide a special insight on questions of importance to American security, as well as the welfare of the American taxpayer.

When news develops, I hope to be enjoying a front-row seat from which I can observe and report to the readers of *Human Events*.

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Are Industry Profits Really Too High?

By HENRY HAZLITT

Every year the First National City Bank of New York compiles the profits of the nation's major corporations in the preceding year. The results are invariably instructive.

The 3,928 corporations (plus commercial banks) covered in 1968 reported total net income after taxes of $41.6 billion, an increase of 9 per cent over their net income in 1967.

This result was brought about, however, by a strong rise in sales volume rather than by an improvement in profit margins. The percentage earned on net worth was 10.6, which was no greater than that of 1967. In fact, for every three firms that reported an improvement in profit margins in 1968 over the reduced 1967 level, there were more than four that did not. After-tax profits in 1968 averaged only 5.8 cents **per sales dollar compared with 5.9 cents in 1967.**

Inflation affects corporate profits in various ways. Because it means an increase in prices, it usually means an increase in nominal profits as well. But in addition it leads to an increase in costs. As a result of numerous strikes and sizable wage settlements, wage and benefit increases in 1968 were substantially in excess of any productivity gains. Major collective bargaining settlements resulted in average first-year increases of 7.5 per cent compared with estimated improvement of about 3.3 per cent in output per man-hour. Net income was also cut into by the 10 per cent surtax, which for corporations was made retroactive to the beginning of 1968.

During an inflationary period the percentage earned on net worth overstates real corporate profits. This is because corporations are only allowed to deduct depreciation against original cost of plant and equipment, instead of against cost of replacement. As prices go up year by year the return on net worth shown by orthodox accounting methods becomes more and more unrealistic.

Demagogues are always complaining that corporation profits are excessive. They always treat them, also, as if they were a common pool shared by all the corporations. But profits are different for each industry and, of course, for each firm.

Everything depends on where we look. In 1968, for example, the profits of office and computing equipment firms increased 24 per cent over 1967, but the profits of the airlines dropped 36 per cent. (The reasons for the latter: rising operating costs, lower load factors and airport congestion.)

Again, manufacturers of soft drinks earned 23.2 per cent on net worth in 1968, whereas the country's class-one railroads earned only 3.3 per cent on net worth—much the lowest rate of any of the 65 different industries reported. Yet nearly every other industry is dependent on the railroads. How government regulators expect the railroads to continue to provide their essential services and compete with other industries for new capital is a mystery.

There are similar striking differences in earnings per sales dollar. The average for all corporations in 1968 was 5.8 cents, but the meat packers continued to show a return of only 1 cent, the same as in 1967, and the food chain stores of only 1.1 cent, also the same as in 1967. Remember the government-encouraged "housewives' boycott" in 1967 against the food chain stores for overcharging?

Profits perform a vital function in the economy. They are the necessary spur to production. And the differences between profits serve as a guide to producers concerning what branches of business to go into or to get out of.

Profits are not, as the Socialists would have it, at the expense of the consumer. On the contrary, in every line, under competition, the highest profits go to the producers who are most successful in reducing their costs and in supplying the consumer with the product he most prefers.

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Teddy Kennedy 'Ready for '72', Labor Leaders Report

By VICTOR RIESEL

From one tight-knit, close-mouthed labor circle, the message is that Ted Kennedy has told its people that he's "ready for '72." He'll run for President. And it's not too early to move Bob Kennedy's labor machine into action—not noisily but slowly and very definitely.

The Massachusetts senator, now unwinding for the first time in almost a year, relaxing, endlessly conferencing, still resents the "shafting" of his brother. But he's careful not to make his brother's tactical and diplomatic political mistakes inside labor.

His labor allies and activists are out of the old CIO. There's "young" Paul Jennings, leader of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE). There are some of Walter Reuther's younger lieutenants and ex-aides.

But it's in George Meany's national AFL-CIO headquarters, Ted Kennedy knows, that his toughest political problem is deeply embedded. He's persona grata there. But they don't throw parties or roses in his path when he comes.

Nor do they buy tickets to the banquets thrown to liquidate the $3-million debt rolled up during Bob Kennedy's campaign for the presidential nomination. Back in January there were virtually no national AFL-CIO people paying tribute to the Kennedys at the mammoth Hilton fund-raising dinner.

He does his best to avoid hurting anyone's feelings there. Not only because its national Committee on Political Education (COPE) almost elected Hubert Humphrey and may try again in '72, but because Ted Kennedy believes it would be extremely difficult to go anywhere without the 14-million-member labor movement—up or down the Hill.

Although UAW President Walter Reuther (above) is battling with AFL-CIO head George Meany, both may well back Teddy Kennedy's drive for the White House.

And so he makes all the right moves. When, for example, he was about to take his public posture in opposition to the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system he telephoned George Meany's intellectual-in-residence, the self-effacing Lane Kirkland. They did not agree. But they did talk amiably.

Sen. Kennedy doesn't enthuse the chiefs of labor's rarely visible infrastructure. They're not his enemy. But they're not his ally. So Ted Kennedy builds his own trade union infrastructure. He's talked with Teamsters leaders and found them less brutal, less adamant. He's been invited to speak at central labor councils which would not open their doors to brother Bob.

And whenever he wants it, he has a power base in something called the Center for Community Change—funded by the Ford Foundation's $3.5 million. This is an umbrella organization coordinating several older units for work among the poor. It is officially interlocked with the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation.

If Ted Kennedy doesn't see the CCC as a powerful Reutherite labor base, the national AFL-CIO leaders do. Some of them fault the Ford Foundation for setting it up under the direction of Jack Conway, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Mr. Conway, an imaginative launcher of committees, is an intimate of United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther.

For a long time Mr. Conway was the "redhead's" executive assistant. Then he virtually ran the OEO. Finally he headed the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department of which Mr. Reuther was nominal president. When the auto union leader launched oratorical fusillades at Mr. Meany, Jack Conway was at "Walter's" side. When Mr. Reuther sought to peel some union chiefs from the AFL-CIO, Jack Conway was alongside the Detroiter.

Today Mr. Reuther is on the CCC's board of directors, along with several strategists of the old Bob Kennedy headquarters. There are no AFL-CIO men on the CCC list. They see the center as a "platform for Walter Reuther." That's positive.

In what has been widely interpreted by observers as a kickoff for the 1972 presidential campaign, Sen. Kennedy toured poverty areas in Alaska. With the Bay Stater are Sen. Ted Stevens (R.-Alaska) and the 49th State's lone House member, GOP Rep. Howard Pollock, at right.

And it should be remembered that the recent 40,000-word blast at Mr. Reuther was unanimously approved by the federation's high council.

There's open war here. Ted Kennedy is caught in the middle.

These wars get to be verbally bloody. Mr. Reuther has been needling the powerful AFL-CIO chiefs for several years now. They took their time. They took careful aim. They hit him and will continue to fight him wherever he shows up. He's emerged in several spots alongside Ted Kennedy and the old Kennedy machine now pulsating cross-country.

So, quite gingerly, Ted Kennedy tries to make his peace with the labor chiefs, whose backing he must have to win the Democratic nomination in '72, without the kind of fight which brutalized Hubert Humphrey.

At the same time, he's taking no chances. He has told his own labor allies to get swinging. They are. They believe '72 is closer than you think.

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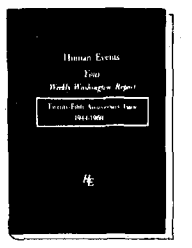

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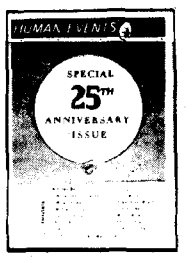

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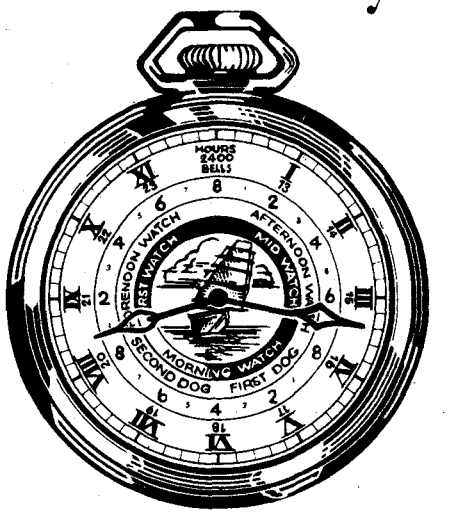

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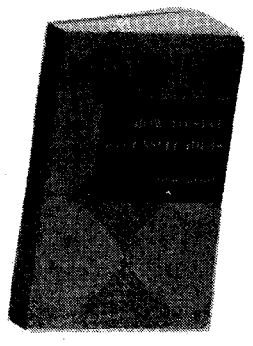

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Congress to Colleges: 'Stop Aid to Rioters, Or Else...'

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

It is squarely up to the college administrators of the country what Congress does about voting more millions for scholarships and loans to needy students.

College authorities will have only themselves to blame if Congress angrily wields the ax on such educational funds.

The widespread pussyfooting, temporizing and in some instances outright refusal of college officials to vigorously enforce measures passed by Congress last year to crack down on student rioters and agitators is seriously jeopardizing continued large-scale federal aid to students.

That's the stern warning of Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa), influential member of the Education and Labor Committee, and author of one of the disciplinary provisions—Section 504(b) of the Higher Education Act.

An Education and Labor subcommittee, of which Scherle is a member, is making a detailed study of the effectiveness of this and other statutes designed to deny federal aid to students engaging in violence and disorders. Under Section 504(b), the withdrawal of such funds is mandatory, with responsibility for enforcement directly up to college authorities, as follows:

"If an institution of higher education determines, after affording notice and opportunity for a hearing, that an individual attending has willfully refused to obey a lawful regulation or order of such institution, and such refusal was of a serious nature and contributed to a substantial disruption of the administration of such institution, then such institution shall deny, for a period of two years, any further payment to, or for the direct benefit of, such individual under any of the programs specified in [this law]."

Both the mandatory nature of this provision and the responsibility of colleges for its enforcement were strongly stressed by HEW Secretary Robert Finch in his recent letter to college administrators.

"It is important for all concerned to understand," Finch told them, "that Congress has spoken and that the law must be enforced. . . . Under this legislation, the burden of administration falls upon the institutions. . . . I would suggest that these provisions be fully discussed by all parties at your institution—trustees, administrators, faculty members, students, and where possible, parents.

"I hope that a thorough understanding of these provisions would enable you to better determine the ways and means by which your institution will deal with this legislation."

Rep. Scherle was more blunt and explicit.

The outspoken Iowan, pointedly rebuking college authorities for "not clamping down on student rioters," asserted that public patience is wearing thin because of such disorders.

"The American taxpayer is willing to subsidize education," said Scherle, "but not agitation, turbulence and mindless revolutionary excesses. Colleagues in Congress tell me they are getting a heavy mail from constituents denouncing students flouting the law and demanding forceful action against them. One Midwestern colleague, who represents a district that includes a Big Ten university, told me that in response to a special questionnaire, he received thousands of replies overwhelmingly favoring denying federal aid to students taking part in campus disturbances.

"There is no lack of law to curb these disorders, if college administrators will exercise the intelligence and courage to use it. And they had better get some starch in their backbones and begin enforcing the law or there is a very real possibility that public financial support will be drastically reduced.

"The signs are very clear and inescapable, to those who will take the trouble to examine them, that taxpayers are getting fed up with spending large sums for education that all too often leads to chaos and destruction."

Scherle expressed astonishment at a letter from Robert J. Cooper, assistant provost of Columbia University, scene of some of the most violent campus disorders in the country, opposing "legislation which attempts by financial means to attack the problem of student unrest." Cooper contended this would be a form of discrimination.

"The discrimination argument is completely irrelevant and inappropriate," declared Scherle. "It is like arguing that a poor man and someone with means should not be fined for running through a stop sign because that would discriminate against the poor man.

"Scholarships and student loans are granted on the basis of need. So in revoking a grant, that opens the way for a more deserving student to get it. If there is any discrimination, it is between two classes of students: Those who are serious about getting an education, and those who want to disrupt the functions of a university."

Scherle also noted that it is up to colleges to keep other universities informed of disciplinary action taken against students. He called attention to a recent memorandum issued by the U.S. Office of Education stressing this point as follows:

"Most important is the fact that action taken by one institution under Section 504 is, in effect, binding on all other institutions. Information concerning the imposition of a two-year sanction is required to be transmitted from one institution to another, should the student against whom the sanction has been applied elect to transfer.

"Since there are no plans in the Office of Education to establish and maintain lists or rosters of persons prescribed under Section 504, the exchange of information relating to the imposition of such sanctions is clearly an institutional responsibility."

It will be several months before the House Education and Labor Committee acts on legislation for federal aid to higher education. The form this controversial measure is likely to take is wholly conjectural.

From the current outlook, the chances are the $1.1 billion voted last year for student scholarships and loans will be sharply reduced.

Congressional demand for denying federal aid to disorderly students has strong bipartisan support.

Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.), chairman of an Appropriations subcommittee, warmly approved President Nixon's recent denunciation of student violence and disruption. Byrd contended forceful action against such turbulence is long overdue and voiced gratification that it is being taken.

"For the government to continue to lend financial assistance to those who foment unrest, rebellion and violence is utter stupidity, and grossly unfair to the taxpayer," declared Byrd. "The attorney general has promised to enforce the laws against agitators who cross state lines to incite riots. Such action is well overdue.

"It is useless to have laws on the books if they are not going to be enforced, and I am glad to see someone moving at last to enforce them against the insurrectionists who have been having things pretty much their way too long."

★ ★ ★

For the first time since 1966, the long-time rulers of the Communist Party, U.S.A., among the most slavishly pro-Soviet in the world, are convening a national convention in New York City on May 1.

Attending as invited observers will be militant moguls of the Students for a Democratic Society—whose national and local leadership is heavily far-leftist.

Some 200 delegates are expected to attend the New York City convention. That would be about double the number at last year's "special convention." The May 1 date was purposely designated because that's the party's rally day, and is counted on to bring out a bigger crowd.

Basically, most of the delegates will be old-timers who were present at the last regular convention in 1966—and others before that. There will be few new faces.

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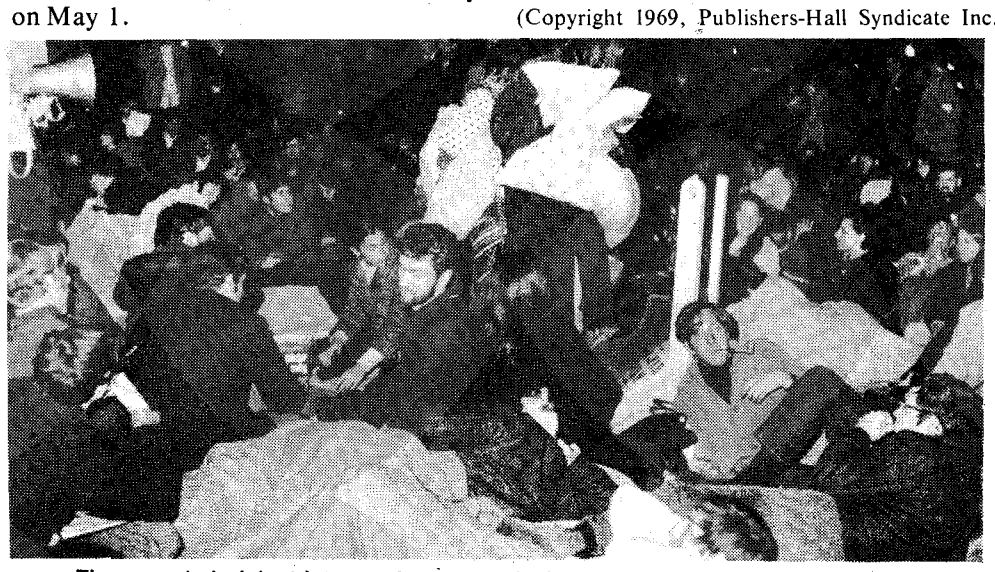

The repeated violent interruptions of the legitimate operations of colleges and universities may well engender an even stronger reaction that will not be so gentle with campus militants as most college administrations have been.

Government Reservations

McGovern Knows Where to Look

From the Black Hills *Press*, Sturgis, S.D.

Sen. George McGovern will soon carry his search for poverty in America to the Pine Ridge Indian reservation of South Dakota. It takes no clairvoyance to predict he'll find poverty there too.

However, we believe Sen. McGovern's visit to the reservation will have a useful purpose—outside of the national publicity he so vigorously seeks. It will focus attention on the much-overlooked fact that poverty exists where the government has spent huge sums and expended great effort to prevent it.

We can't think of so glaring an example of the failure of the welfare state than the Indian reservations of the country. These "horrible examples" are not just located in South Dakota either. The Sunday Minneapolis *Tribune* recently devoted a series of articles to the plight of the Minnesota Indians. Poverty, it seems, exists on virtually all reservations where oil has not been discovered and the Indians on them have been wards of the government for more than a century in most cases.

Nevertheless, we now have the ludicrous situation of a federal government official—if a United States senator can be so described—looking for poverty on the reservation. You've got to give him credit, though, for knowing where to go to find it. He's sure to find poverty wherever the government has been taking care of the people.

Sen. McGovern's much publicized visit to the reservation should impress Americans with the fact that pouring money into poverty areas is not the answer to solving the problem. If that were the case, poverty on the reservations would have been eliminated long ago. Certainly, all Americans want the hungry to be fed. But they also want something to be done about ending the hunger on a long-range basis too.

The government has been feeding the hungry on the reservations for years. They were among the first to benefit from the distribution of surplus commodities. Yet, the reservation poor are still with us. Large sums of tax money have also gone to the reservations for rehabilitation and job training programs too. Nor have the reservation schools been neglected in the distribution of government largess. But the reservation poor are still with us.

Sen. McGovern, who has advocated spending more of the taxpayers' money on anti-poverty programs, might well ponder why money hasn't solved the problem, when he visits the reservation poor. Perhaps some of the national news media that will accompany the senator here will wonder about it too. They just might come to the conclusion that there are reasons, aside from lack of money, why there is poverty—not only on the reservations, but elsewhere in this largely affluent country.

The visitors will find, we're sure, that there is a great deal of inertia and lack of individual initiative among the reservation poor. They might properly wonder what role the welfare state has played in destroying Indian incentive for individual betterment too.

It is, we believe, quite ironic that one of the Senate's strongest advocates of the welfare state is now going to see first-hand the fruits of that kind of anti-povertyism. It might—just might—convince him that the welfare state actually creates more problems than it solves.

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Kennedy-Backed Bill

S.8 Would Compel Farm Workers to Join a Union

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

When the Senate Labor Committee takes up S 8—the most regressive and anti-democratic piece of legislation I have ever read—it will be taking a giant step backward to the day when workers had no say in their economic future. S 8, which is being energetically pushed by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, would set up hiring halls for farm workers. To get work, the farm worker would

Judging by the bill he backs, freedom for farm laborers is not a main goal of activist Cesar Chavez.

have to join an AFL-CIO farm workers' union. The union, in turn, would hire him out to farmers—or ignore him.

That Mr. Kennedy supports the Cesar Chavez movement is one of the puzzlers of our time. It may be the first serious mistake the senator from Massachusetts has made, and one that may cost him the presidential nomination. For Cesar Chavez, a product of the extreme New Left, has been repudiated by farm workers every time they have been given a free choice.

In the San Joaquin Valley in California, farm workers have organized *against* the corporal's guard which calls itself the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. In two instances in which Chavez has twisted grape producers into signing with his "committee," wages have fallen, working conditions deteriorated, and eventually some 1,500 jobs were lost when the producers folded their operations.

To coerce the grape producers to override the loudly expressed wishes of their workers, the AFL-CIO UFWOC mounted a boycott against California table grapes, threatening food chains which ignored it with violence in their store. The boycott has failed, but the grape pickers are no less furious at Chavez for attempting it.

Realizing his strategic error, Chavez and the UFWOC retreated. Last February, in a by-lined piece for the Washington *Post*, Chavez wrote: "The Farm Bureau and the right-to-workers smear the boycott by saying that the issue in the boycott is 'compulsory unionism,' and that the boycott is to try to force unionism on workers who really don't want it."

Having talked to grape pickers in the San Joaquin Valley, and having heard from them of the intimidation practiced by the Chavez group in its futile efforts at forcing a union down their throats, I can testify to the accuracy of those who say that compulsion is the issue.

But it is no longer necessary to argue with Chavez. Until now, in their public protestations, spokesmen for the UFWOC have said that all they want is the same legal protections industrial workers enjoy. But at a press conference in Delano, Calif., on April 9, Chavez tipped his hand completely. S 8, with all its reversal of present labor legislation, is not enough for the UFWOC. He demanded closed shop contracts, in violation of the Labor-Management statute which would compel farm workers to join a union before being hired.

Having failed to enlist farm worker support, Chavez pressed for a farm labor bill which would require farm producers to negotiate with the UFWOC without representation elections, thereby depriving all farm workers of any say in their union status.

If Chavez and the UFWOC represented any significant number of farm workers, it would explain why Sen. Kennedy and the other "liberals" who have joined him in support of S 8 should be willing to outrage public opinion. But if the UFWOC has more than 12,000 members, it is keeping this fact secret from interested bystanders.

The truth, simple but unpalatable to those who support the demands of Cesar Chavez, is that the UFWOC represents no one but a handful of labor bureaucrats, most of whom have never worked in the fields, determined to impose a union where none is wanted. In the California grape country, farm wages are substantially higher than the national average, working conditions are excellent, 90 per cent of the workers own their own homes and cars, and the UFWOC is bitterly resented.

Yet a spokesman for Mr. Kennedy states blandly that "the senator feels the plight of the farm worker is so severe that the issues raised by Mr. Chavez deserve immediate congressional attention."

A few facts and figures by Chavez and Sen. Kennedy would clear the air.

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BUREAUCRACY—ITALIAN STYLE— "From Italy, Scripps-Howard Staff Writer B. J. Cutler reports that the Italians are claiming they have the most inefficient bureaucracy in the world. Reason: The Italian bureaucracy is so cumbersome (including operating under a 1924 accounting system) that it is unable to spend all the money its parliament appropriates. In 1967 the *residui passivi*—allocated but unspent money—in Italy amounted to $8.17 billion. For last year alone, the unspent total is estimated at $1.56 billion. One result, though the would-be beneficiaries of the unspent funds are unhappy, is that this *residui passivi* helps make the Italian lira one of the strongest currencies in Europe. Ned in the third reader would come up with the obvious answer to this one. Trade a flock of U.S. bureaucrats for their Italian counterparts. Certainly we have but a handful who ever left an allocated dollar unspent. The U.S. could stand some *residui passivi*."
—From the Birmingham *Post-Herald*

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"Hoffer's latest book is a diary that he kept in 1958-59 when he was simultaneously working as a longshoreman, reading history omnivorously, and trying to write a book about the role of the intellectual in society. . . .

"[An] advantage that self-education brought Eric Hoffer was that he acquired a view of the world quite different from that of the institutionally educated elite. His views are interesting and refreshing because they are cast in a different mold from the one used in our liberal arts foundries. For example, he points out that America can make a great contribution to the poorer countries of the world—the gift of teaching backward peoples how to work and how to be efficient—but we are badly handicapped in our dealings with these countries. The reason is that 'we cannot win the intellectuals, the men of words, the self-appointed spokesmen who stand between us and the millions we are trying to help.'

"When one remembers that those words were written in 1958 and thinks of the decline in American influence in countries such as Turkey, Pakistan and India in the last 10 years despite the expenditure of billions of dollars of aid, one has to give Hoffer credit for prescience. . . ."
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Continued from Page 6

Otepka's Ordeal Is Finally Almost Over

ment, up to and including former Secretary Rusk. Frankly, I did not want to believe the Kennedy Administration was either as incompetent or as cruel as it appeared.

In those first months it was logical to ask if there was something in Otepka's record or his activities that in some manner justified the unusual methods used in the effort to get him. What crimes or suspicions of subversion could justify the use of wiretapping and eavesdropping on Otepka, the tight surveillance kept on his activities, and the ransacking of his office and security safes?

But there was no hint from anyone that Otepka was involved in either subversion or crime.

Also, the other obvious question involved Otepka's rulings on security cases. I asked if there was any case showing that Otepka had been irresponsible in branding someone a security risk on the basis of flimsy or rigged evidence. No one could or would cite a case of irresponsibility or lack of balance in any Otepka evaluations.

Month after month, I asked for the case against Otepka. In the end I concluded that there was nothing else against Otepka except the so-called "insubordination" in producing the documents for the Senate subcommittee.

There were insinuations that Otepka was "a right-winger" who deserved no defense. At State officials hinted that Otepka was "a McCarthyite" but they shut this off fast when I asked them for specific details, after explaining that Otepka had not even known McCarthy, and recalling that Otepka had recommended clearance of a number of persons in controversial cases.

The undocumented State Department line apparently went over with some reporters. A few reporters wrote stories crediting the Kennedy Administration with taking a necessary step in disciplining Otepka to crush out "the last vestiges of McCarthyism" at the State Department. They gave no facts. . . . I asked several if they had any facts linking Otepka to McCarthy. They had none.

I asked several of my colleagues if they knew that Otepka had recommended the clearance of Wolf Ladejinsky in 1954 at a time when Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson was ruling that Ladejinsky was a security risk. Most of them did not.

I reviewed the Ladejinsky case in which the Benson decision became a great cause for liberals, and with good reason. . . . I had a major newspaper role in correcting the Ladejinsky decison, but I had many helpers and editorial supporters in the liberal press.

I tried to demonstrate that the Ladejinsky and Otepka cases were similar. Both men were career public officials who were being persecuted by political decisions with all of the power of a Cabinet office being used to enforce an unjust arbitrary decision.

The American Civil Liberties Union [which was actively involved in the Ladejinsky case] and other liberal groups rejected my efforts to stimulate their interest in the Otepka case. I argued that true liberalism demanded that Otepka, a conservative, should be defended as stoutly as Ladejinsky, a liberal, was defended.

For the most part that plea was futile, even though the ACLU did enter the case briefly to protest the proceedings in the State Department appeal.

That State Department hearing was a rigged political court to give Otepka a pro-forma hearing before Rusk ruled against him and demoted him from a $20,000 job to a $15,000 job.

Roger Robb, lawyer for Otepka, protested the hearing form, and sought witnesses to establish a frame-up of Otepka. His pleas were rejected by the hearings officer, and by Rusk.

My disappointment with the failure of liberal organizations to come to Otepka's defense has been matched by my disappointment in some of my liberal press colleagues. We worked together on the Ladejinsky case, and they were eager to help. No amount of persuasion could move them to examine the even greater injustice of the Otepka case.

I realize the record of the Otepka case is voluminous and despite the reports of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee has remained controversial. This did make it a difficult case to unwind, and it made it easy for State Department spokesmen to distort the record and to snipe at Otepka from the protecting cover of anonymity.

There may be some malicious and intentional distortions by some segments of the press. But I prefer to hope that the mass of distorted reporting on the Otepka case was a result of carelessness and a lack of diligence on the part of overworked State Department reporters. Certainly, the voluminous record made reporters easy prey to the distorted State Department backgrounders.

I realize the broad range of direct and subtle pressures brought to discourage a defense of Otepka, for I met most of them at some stage from my friends in the Kennedy Administration. One put it crudely: "What are you lining up with Otepka and all those far-right nuts for? Do you want to destroy yourself?"

There were also the hints that I would be cut off from White House contacts and other high Administration contacts if I continued my push for the facts in the Otepka matter.

When I tried to discuss the facts and the unanswered questions, there was no interest in either the facts or the merits. They simply wanted to shut off reporting and comments on an embarrassing subject.

Fortunately there have been a few people who have continued to work on the case and to report something besides the State Department version. . . .

I want to pay special tribute to Willard Edwards, for his conversation with Richard M. Nixon, the Republican candidate, which set the stage for the naming of Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board. Edwards reported that Nixon intended to see that justice was done for Otepka, and I had a later conversation with then candidate Nixon in which he confirmed his conversation with Willard and again expressed his interest in straightening out the Otepka case.

There was some disappointment that Secretary of State William P. Rogers did not take direct action to reinstate Otepka as well as several of Otepka's supporters who were victims of the political knife under the Kennedy and Johnson Administration. But, since there has been no change in the top legal, personnel and press jobs at the State Department, I guess it should not be surprising if Rogers received one-sided briefings and action recommendations that represented anything but justice for Otepka.

I had believed that Secretary Rogers—a former congressional investigator of subversion and a former attorney general—should be able to analyze the Otepka case. But he has been busy with the affairs of dozens of alliances, and in the absence of other evidence, I prefer to think his unfortunate letter on the Otepka case was a result of the work of holdover subordinates.

Fortunately, President Nixon stepped in to make things right with a top-level vindication of Otepka through the appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

There have been some efforts to stir an anti-Otepka drive in the Senate on grounds that Otepka's association with some John Birch Society members made him unworthy of the SACB appointment. This guilt-by-association technique ranks with the worst sort of "McCarthyism." There is the possibility that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Sen. Stephen Young of Ohio may try to stimulate an anti-Otepka move and will almost certainly vote against him.

If Sen. Kennedy and his staff conduct the research necessary to discuss this case, I have an idea that they will back away from any direct confrontation, because it would focus national attention on one of the most serious black marks against the Kennedy Administration. Any discussion of the case is certain to point up more vividly than at any time in the past the sordid story of eavesdropping, surveillances, safebreaking and other police state methods used by the Kennedy Administration in the "get Otepka" drive.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Nixon's ABM Move

By SEN. KARL E. MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

Volumes have been and will be written and the flow of words pro and con will continue unabated for a long time on President Nixon's decision to move forward with a modified Sentinel anti-ballistic missile system to protect Minuteman missile sites against a first-strike nuclear attack. In the opinion of this senator, the President's decision was correct in meeting the vital necessity of maintaining a strong deterrent as the most effective method to preserve peace and to prevent nuclear attack on this country. The decision does not endanger the possibility of negotiations with the Soviet Union involving nuclear armaments—in fact, it seems to me, it should be a positive factor for encouraging discussions with the USSR.

As the debate continues on the ABM, it would be well to keep in mind some of the facts involving the nuclear threat to this country requiring the decision which the President made. The Soviet Union has in place around Moscow an anti-ballistic missile system and continues its work on this program. The Soviet ICBM (Inter-continental Ballistic Missile) program has not levelled off as it was believed last fall would happen and, if anything, it has accelerated, and big missiles continue to be deployed as well as improved in accuracy. The USSR has also tested Multiple Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs) which could give the Soviet Union a potential for a first strike against Minuteman if we took no countermeasures. Finally, the USSR is producing a Polaris-type submarine and deploying such submarines at the rate of seven a year.

The threat posed by the Soviet Union, which evidenced no compassion over its invasion of defenseless Czechoslovakia when the Czechs didn't agree with Moscow, cannot be dismissed as unrealistic because of a belief that in this day and age nuclear war is unthinkable. It may be unthinkable in this country, but I would not want to gamble on what the thoughts are in the Kremlin. And that is exactly why the ABM decision was made in this country—there isn't any room for unverified speculation when the lives of our citizens and the life of our nation are at stake.

Feathers and Castor Oil

By REP. M. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.)

The Joint Congressional Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures regularly issues a report on the condition of the national stockpile. This stockpile is the repository of allegedly strategic and critical materials, and the latest report is just out. Taxpayers, I am sure, will be delighted to know that Uncle Sam has accumulated 1,480,997 pounds of feathers. That's right, feathers. This is about a half-million pounds more feathers than the people who set up the feather quota think this country needs. We have also approximately 49 million more pounds of cobalt than anybody needs or wants; 8 million more pounds of cadmium than the government has any business with; almost 18 million excess carats of industrial diamonds and nearly 69 million surplus pounds of cord fiber. However, if these figures make you slightly ill, just remember that your government has a firm grip on 63,430,201 more pounds of castor oil than it needs. Which is just about par for the course.

Chicago's "Poverty"

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

The city of Chicago is apparently a lousy place to plan a war on poverty. Perhaps the poor people there depress the planners. Or there are too few indoor swimming pools to permit the proper relaxation.

At any rate, Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., who draws down $30,000 as the city's top poverty warrior, chose to hold a three-day conference for 46 of his poverty-fighters at the plush Wagon Wheel Lodge in Rockton, Ill., 100 miles from Chicago.

The Wagon Wheel Lodge offers such amenities as private, stocked trout ponds and indoor swimming pools where the poverty moguls staged cocktail parties staffed by $2.50-an-hour bartenders and $5-an-hour lifeguards.

Dr. Brooks told the Chicago *Tribune*—which exposed this lavish junket—that he held it 100 miles from Chicago because federal officials wouldn't let him take his employes to lunch in the city at government expense. As a result, the taxpayers will shell out nearly $2,300 in expenses for this affair, including two bills of $62.70 and $39.90 for "shortcake and ice cream."

Does anybody remember Sargent Shriver, former head of the so-called "War on Poverty," telling a House committee that it was going to be "a prudent program . . . It is prudently planned in that every dollar allocated will be spent to help the poor. . . There is no contemplated huge new bureaucracy"?

Think about that when you reflect on the federal income tax you paid this year.

B-52 Raid Cutback

By REP. CHARLES BENNETT (D.-Fla.)

I strongly object to the announced decision to cut back the B-52 sorties from 1,800 to 1,600 a month, particularly since the decision was made for fiscal and not military reasons. Not only this, the decision imperils our troops, which is my primary concern, and also may give encouragement to the enemy not to agree to settle the war at the Paris peace talks. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain by this decision. Insofar as I am able to influence the matter, I shall do my best to see that a reversal of the decision takes place. On a related issue, I believe time is running out on the bombing halt—first, because there has been no indication that our forbearance has produced any peace-directed actions by Hanoi and its allies. Second, because the enemy has violated its terms in numerous instances.

Sea Power Crisis

By REP. L. MENDEL RIVERS (D.-S.C.)

How can we get American sea power back on course?

The first ingredient—we might as well admit it plainly to ourselves—is money. We have provided inadequate funds for new naval ship construction and for ship maintenance and repair for years. We are going to have to increase the annual rate of spending markedly to get results. I don't mean a crash program. I mean an increased level of funding sustained over a period of years.

I have introduced legislation to provide a shipbuilding program in the coming fiscal year of $3.8 billion. In my view that would be a beginning step. By contrast, the program in the last fiscal year was only $1 billion, and the program submitted in the final Johnson Administration budget was $2.6 billion.

In one of his campaign speeches, President Nixon suggested that we should ship at least 30 per cent of our commerce in our own ships. The goal is a good one. It would not seem to be extraordinarily high. But the simple fact is that at present we carry only 6 per cent of our foreign commerce in our own ships. Now, I realize that we cannot jump to the President's goal of 30 per cent all at once and that even on a gradual basis some difficult adjustments might be necessary.

I don't like any more than you do the idea of a Washington bureaucrat dictating to shippers when they can use foreign ships. But we might take a leaf from the pages of those who run our air carriers. This might require some fundamental changes in maritime thinking, and I know it would create some difficulties. But I think it is something at least worth debating and studying. The United States carries a far higher percentage of its own cargo in its own planes because it has a series of bilateral agreements with other nations that all commerce of those nations will be carried on flag lines of the two nations. If this principle has worked so well in the air, might it not help turn the tide on the oceans?

Naturally the conversion would have to be on a gradual basis so as not to upset our allies who are presently carrying a large portion of our commerce. Various offsetting arrangements might be necessary. And the cost implications would have to be studied closely. But I do suggest that those in the maritime industry at least examine the possibility of such an approach.

18-Year-Old Vote

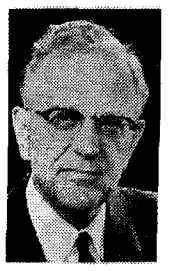
By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

While the disruptive campus radicals may be but a small minority of the total under-21 college population, their effect on the Congress could be the fatal blow to a long-sought desire for citizens between 18 and 21 to express themselves through the ballot box. Public opinion polls have shown a general increase in favor of lowering the voting age. In 1967, 64 per cent of those polled were in favor of lowering the voting age to 18. But strangely enough, no marked eagerness has been expressed by the young people themselves. Older Americans may be mildly enthusiastic about lowering the voting age to 18. But with the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee [Rep. Emanuel Cellar (D.-N.Y.)] standing in flat opposition, and with the 18-year-old youthful activists expressing themselves in a manner quite irrelevant to the right to vote, there is small likelihood that the Congress will move to lower the voting age during this first session of the 91st Congress.

Student Unrest

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

Owing to permissiveness on the part of campus authorities on one hand, and the well-financed and organized efforts of the revolutionaries on the other, the record of success among such groups as Students for a Democratic Society has been almost universal.



The people are now looking to their leaders to act judiciously to solve this menace.

Some of the complaints the students have may well be justified considering the fantastic education bureaucracies which have been established over the years, but no complaint, no matter how grievous, ever justifies the kind of organized, physical confrontation that we have witnessed in Colorado and elsewhere.

Primarily, the responsibility for controlling this alarming situation belongs with the local college and university authorities as well as local law enforcement authorities. The federal government does not operate, nor should it ever operate, a police force to handle local problems.

However, we in the federal government do have the responsibility to determine just how these revolutionaries are financed, and when we do, to cut off their money supply. Such a move would go a long way toward stopping these movements.

My own information indicates that both private and public sources have financed these anarchists, and we must now act constructively to cut off their money supply.

Dragging Paris Talks

By REP. LOUIS WYMAN (R.-N.H.)

Just since the talking at Paris started, we have lost 10,000 American lives and countless wounded. Viet Nam now has killed within a few hundred American lives of the Korean War, almost 34,000. This cannot go on. Continuing the muddling, tongue-in-cheek diplomatic table games at Paris can no longer be justified. The November 1968 elections were a mandate for a different policy in Viet Nam. They were not a mandate for surrender or a sellout. It is time for the new American President to lay it on the line at Paris. It is the responsibility of this Congress to support him when he does. This is the only way to get this war over with and quickly. I urge such action without further delay.

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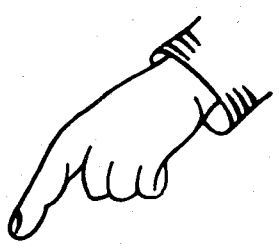

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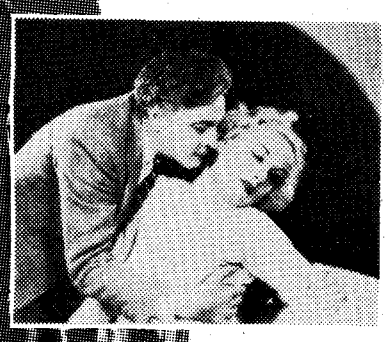

They'd be talking about the magnificent new Flatiron Building ("Don't you get dizzy 20 stories up?"). Enoch the Fish Man, who played his trombone solo under water. Jim Europe, Negro bandleader who sired big-band "jass." Flickering flicks and galloping tintypes. Poet Harry Kemp, who made headlines by appearing on the street without a hat (in Greenwich Village, naturally), and again without a tie. Early ad slogans: "Four Out of Five Have It" . . . "Spring! For everyone else but her" . . . "A Sensible Cigarette" . . . "Even Your Best Friends Won't Tell You."

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